

IN THESE TIMES



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RALPH?
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Berny Krug

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CARTER CORRRALS A PEACE TREATY



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THE INSIDE STORY



Former U.S. Senator Eugene J. McCarthy.

Still arguing about what Vietnam meant

By Julie Ogletree

Six years after the American involvement in the Vietnam war ended, battle lines can still be drawn along different interpretations of the war. Earlier this month, at Macalester College in St. Paul, Minn., a group of students, professors, politicians and activists met for a ten-day symposium to analyze the lessons of the war.

►As novelist and veteran Tim O'Brien said, "There are as many Vietnams as there are veterans," and so it seems there are as many lessons to be learned.

►Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Pulitzer prize winning historian and former member of President Kennedy's staff, said the lesson is that we need more congressional input into foreign policy and we should get rid of "father knows best," foreign affairs.

"Carter's foreign policy of restraint is the proper understanding of the lessons of the Vietnam war, but with the mistakes of vacillation, incompetence and negligence in foreign policy. Carter is letting himself get pushed around. He should be on the offensive against critics of his policy of restraint," he said.

However, Schlesinger supports the reinstatement of the draft, favoring it over the current "professional" army, arguing that a democracy needs people in the army who, "reverberate through the nation." He believes that the U.S. does have interests that should be defended, such as Europe, Latin America and the Middle East.

"What happens in Angola may not make any difference to the U.S. national interest, but what happens to Yugoslavia may," he said.

►Theodore Sorenson, another member of President Kennedy's staff and now a full-time lawyer, shares Schlesinger's view, although he doesn't carry his critique as far. He cautioned against restructuring government, "[You] can't change the powers of the Presidency because of the good guys. Despite political

changes, the leader of the free world is left with responsibilities he cannot forget."

►Gloria Emerson, a former *New York Times* correspondent in Vietnam, drew different conclusions.

"Vietnam was providing an illumination of class. The working class was fighting the war and the middle class was protesting it," she said angrily to a crowd of students, veterans, Vietnamese and members of the community.

She called for the audience to become disturbers of the peace, saying the power of the war was the dissent it caused among students and soldiers, a necessary dissent in this country.

►Her views were echoed by a small group of veterans in the audience, who were remnants of Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Claiming that they were not represented in the symposium that had invited experts to explain the war, they delivered testimonials and questioned each speaker about the justice of the war and the treatment of veterans.

►Bob Upham, one of the veterans, said, "I found out from many working-class soldiers that there is no honor in fighting a rich man's war." He vowed to prevent it from happening again. Sharing his anger, he said, "I was beating my wife when I first got back [from the war] but I've quit now and I plan to start smashing the government."

►Daniel Berrigan, Jesuit priest, author and non-violent war protester supported the dissent, but not the implication of violence. "My sitting on this platform doesn't mean that I support this conference of those in power about those who are not in power." He encouraged Vietnam veterans and women who were not represented on many panels to "make their presence known."

Berrigan, who continues to commit acts of civil disobedience at the Pentagon, doesn't believe that America has learned the lessons of the war. He fears a still great and growing threat of nuclear war.

As the week progressed, it became clear that the remarks of the speakers and the panelists became a battle for the hearts and minds of the audience. The battle was over the question, was Vietnam a mistake, an anomaly or a crime that was an inevitable outgrowth of American foreign policy. Carrying the argument still further, the "experts" and the audience debated if the U.S. had learned anything from the war or not, and if so what changes needed to be made.

►For Cynthia Cannizzo, a professor of political science from Ohio State University who has done a study of military spending and policy, the war was proof that "the use of the military as a foreign policy should be used sparingly. War must be fought for clear goals and as a last resort, with political support." The mistake of Vietnam, she implied, was that it was a political war and the military was not allowed to run it their way, so we lost.

History professor and Asian scholar, Nina Adams, Sangamon State University, Springfield, Ill., believes that American foreign policy has not changed. "It [foreign policy] has continued on a straight line since World War II. Certain constant stands have been taken over and over. The fundamental battle remains the same. Decisions are still made in a particular way by the CIA, the Pentagon, and corporate leaders. Our support for leadership tends to be like in Iran—it involves political forces and military forces and very unstable regimes like Thailand and the Philippines.... [The question is] how long can the regimes stay in place? With the absence of public pressure and outcry, the policy is likely to stay the same."

►Marilyn Blatt Young, a historian at the Residential College at the University of Michigan took Adams'

further. She said, "What we are seeing now in the press, in the movies, and in some novels is an attempt to rewrite the history of the war and forget it."

She said that the analysis of the lessons of the war depended on the basic assumptions that were accepted about the war. "If the U.S. involvement was a misguided but essentially honorable mistake, then there is an idea that it can be corrected. I don't think it was a mistake, it was a crime. There is a whole school of thought that says 'Until 1965 we were okay; if we had continued with serious counterinsurgency movements we would have won the war.' But that has left out the question of our moral and legal right to be there."

She argued that the lessons of the "mistake" interpretation of the war would lead to greater suppression of the press for its criticism of the war, refinement of counterinsurgency and tactical weapons and tougher politicians instead of the questioning of basic foreign policy assumptions.

►Richard J. Barnet, co-director of the Institute of Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., argued that Vietnam was the cause of many current problems including inflation, Watergate, and the drop in the value of the dollar. He said its major effect had been to replace the imperial presidency with the presidency of indecision. He said America has not faced the lessons of Vietnam.

"There is an inability [in government] to change the analysis of the world and there is a fear that the problem of Vietnam might reoccur," he said. American responses to situations in Angola, Zaire and Iran all represented the current ambiguity, he said. National Security planners, he said, "have had their world view shaken and there is nothing to replace it."

Barnet argued that the problem of foreign policy is that it hasn't acknowledged the changes in the world since the early '70s and that policy makers are acting out of old assumptions. He cited several important changes.

"The U.S. had to withdraw in defeat against a third level military power (Vietnam). The economic system favorable to the U.S. came unstuck. One big assumption [that has not held true] is that our access to resources in the world, mainly oil, would continue. The failure to develop a national energy policy is a failure of the same order as Vietnam. It is a failure to comprehend the nature of the world we live in. Everything has changed except our thinking."

He delivered a pessimistic outlook for the future, suggesting that Zaire could be the next Vietnam and expressing concern about the military alliance of the U.S. with China which could make the Soviet Union feel hemmed in, increasing the danger of a nuclear conflict, and at the very least damaging U.S.-Soviet relations. In an interview, Barnet said that there was potential for change in foreign policy if a political coalition opposed to current proliferation policies could be developed soon.

He said the recent reaction of mayors to the lack of attention the federal government is paying to the cities, church movements developing among liberal and conservative congregations and the helping professions, who feel neglected, could become a coalition favoring a new type of foreign policy, specifically, one advocating some form of disarmament.

Berrigan, Emerson, the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, and others called for protests against the draft and nuclear power.

But students, even those too young when the war was at its peak to understand it were caught up emotionally in the conference. They remained as divided as the experts on the significance of the war. Their hearts and minds were affected but not convinced that any interpretation was the truth. ■

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IN THESE TIMES

Caution greets treaty news

By David Mandel

TEL AVIV

NOT VERY MANY ISRAELIS are overjoyed about the peace treaty that seems to be taking shape between Israel and Egypt. If thousands of them were dancing and partying on the night of March 13, it was in celebration of Purim, the Jewish holiday that is a religious commandment to drink and be merry—and not because of the early evening announcement that an agreement was finally expected to be concluded within two weeks.

Too many instances of false optimism in the last 16 months since Egyptian President Anwar Sadat surprised the world with his visit to Jerusalem, have turned exhilaration into cynicism. And doubts about whether a separate agreement with Egypt can really bring peace have lowered expectations tremendously.

The change could be seen in the reception given President Carter during his three-day arm-twisting visit last week. It was vastly different from that accorded in November 1977 to Sadat, President of a country that had faced Israel in battle five times in the previous 30 years.

The trappings were almost identical. A Saturday night arrival by air. Intense security precautions and extraordinary formal ceremonies of welcome, motorcades, state dinners. The works.

But there were no authentically cheering crowds this time. The press here has been full of simplistic reports on the fate of American allies elsewhere. U.S. failure to prevent the "fall" of Iran, which was an important supplier of oil and trade partner for Israel, is viewed with apprehension. The relevance to Israel's case of the "abandonment" of Taiwan is loudly debated.

Carter needs the treaty.

Carter's plummeting popularity ratings at home were also widely reported in Israel, and his desire to conclude a Middle East peace treaty was viewed as less a sincere effort at securing durable peace than an act of political desperation with 1980 fast approaching.

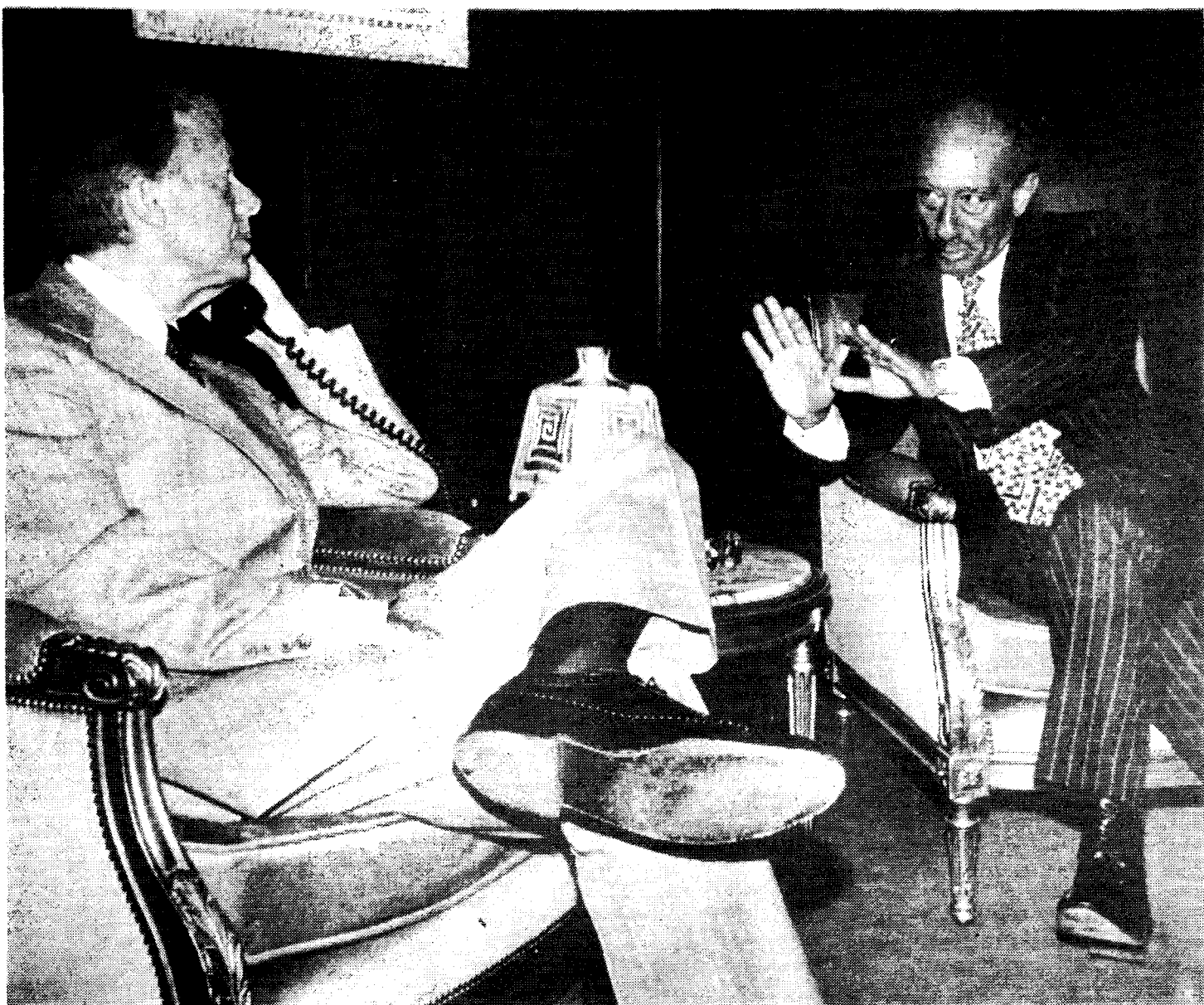
Perhaps this last factor explains in part the incredible haggling over seemingly minor points that took place in Washington, Cairo and Jerusalem. Both Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin may have felt that if the U.S. really wanted an agreement so badly, it could press "the other side" to give a little more.

It was certainly not internal opposition which was preventing Begin from giving in easily on the timetable for a Sinai withdrawal, the exchange of ambassadors and his demand that Egypt promise to sell oil directly to Israel. The public here may be cynical about the "peace process," but it is not enthusiastic about the vocal extreme right opposition to it either.

Several hundred very dedicated and militant Gush Emunim supporters made a valiant but utterly unsuccessful attempt to win mass backing, even when the police cooperated by arresting and beating them, actions which once might have made the demonstrators into martyrs.

A couple thousand "Peace Now" partisans came out to show support for Carter's efforts, but their action, too, was a mere shadow of the group's successes of last spring and summer. Even though its warnings that a separate Israel-Egyptian course might not bring real peace seem likely to be borne out by reality, attempts by Communist deputies to interrupt Begin during his Knesset speech following Carter, with reminders about the need to negotiate with the Palestinians and to recognize their right to statehood, got nowhere.

The left's interruptions followed similar efforts by Paula Cohen, Begin's opponent on the extreme right. She was



President Carter, with Anwar Sadat in Cairo, talking to Menachem Begin on the telephone.

evicted from the session. But the heckling only dramatize the broad consensus that still exists for an agreement with Egypt along the lines of the paper worked out in November and rehashed in countless sessions.

Begin needs Labor vote.

As after the first Camp David accords last September, however, Begin's majority will probably depend on many opposition votes, from Labor and various other small parties—except the Communists who oppose the agreement. If enough Likud coalition members vote no and carry out their threat to formally split into a new opposition, Israel's political map may change permanently, and a large centrist bloc may be formed including leaders of both the present and former governments.

With this in mind, the words of Labor opposition head Shimon Peres during Carter's visit take on potential importance. In his Knesset speech, Peres went out of his way to discuss the Palestinian problem, an issue which Begin studiously avoided. He proposed Israeli willingness to negotiate with "any Palestinians who oppose terror and recognize Israel," a formula not yet adopted by anyone to the right of Labor's extreme doves.

Peres diluted the formula somewhat by reiterating his rejection of any relations with the PLO, and of an independent Palestinian state. Labor's line also calls for permanent Israeli control of large areas of the West Bank—in a sense, even less flexible than Begin's ambiguous "autonomy" plan.

But combined with Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan's comment about "taking the PLO into account" several weeks ago—Peres and Dayan were close associates until Dayan joined the Begin government in 1977—there is a possibility of change in attitude, if conditions make it necessary. After all, return of Sinai, seen here as a major concession, would never have been initiated by the Israeli government itself. External carrots—and sticks—made it agreeable.

A possible compromise candidate to

head a centrist government, able to deal with the Palestinian issue, has even appeared. Yitzhak Navon, a former associate of Dayan and Peres in Labor's Rafi faction, who managed to get elected President of Israel under Begin's Likud government. Navon had grown close to Labor's dovish wing over the past few years, and he was noticed to be definitely overstepping the President's normal ceremonial role last week, during Carter's visit. He is also a Sephardi (non-European) Jew.

The road to any agreement on the Palestinian issue, however, even with Egypt, will not be easy. Israel will certainly try to stall substantive discussions on the nature of the autonomy it is supposed to grant West Bank and Gaza Strip Arabs. At best, from the government's point of view, Egypt may peacefully agree to disagree and not press the question.

Yet even if Egypt does not insist, the problem will remain. Students and others in the occupied territories made no secret of their displeasure with what they see as Carter's acquiescence to continued occupation. Strikes and demonstrations led to violent clashes last week, causing some serious injuries.

The PLO still remains totally outside the process. For these reasons, the agreement with Egypt could backfire as its left and right opponents point out. Nevertheless, the added weight of U.S. determination to see the pact through may prevail for a while. Without Carter's incredible display of cajoling, the Sadat initiative originally aimed more at Israel itself, could have totally fizzled out.

Iran revolt the key.

Besides the 1980 elections, it was the Iranian revolution, on top of other challenges to American regional domination in Lebanon, South Yemen, Afghanistan and Ethiopia, that impelled the U.S. to act to cement together the pieces it held in Egypt and Israel, even at the risk of losing favor in other parts of the Arab world.

Sadat's and Begin's bargaining was through Washington and often took the form of competition as to who could best represent American interests—a sharp

contrast to the apparent surprise with which news of the Egyptian leader's visit to Jerusalem was first heard in the American capital.

As Egyptian-Israeli peace has become more and more a pro-western alliance, it has polarized the region even further. Relations have become strained between the U.S. and its traditional allies, such as Jordan and Saudi Arabia, who have more to fear than Sadat from Palestinian anger. At the same time, anti-American stalwarts have doubled their reservations about possible agreement with Israel, since practically, that would now mean joining the U.S.-sponsored alliance.

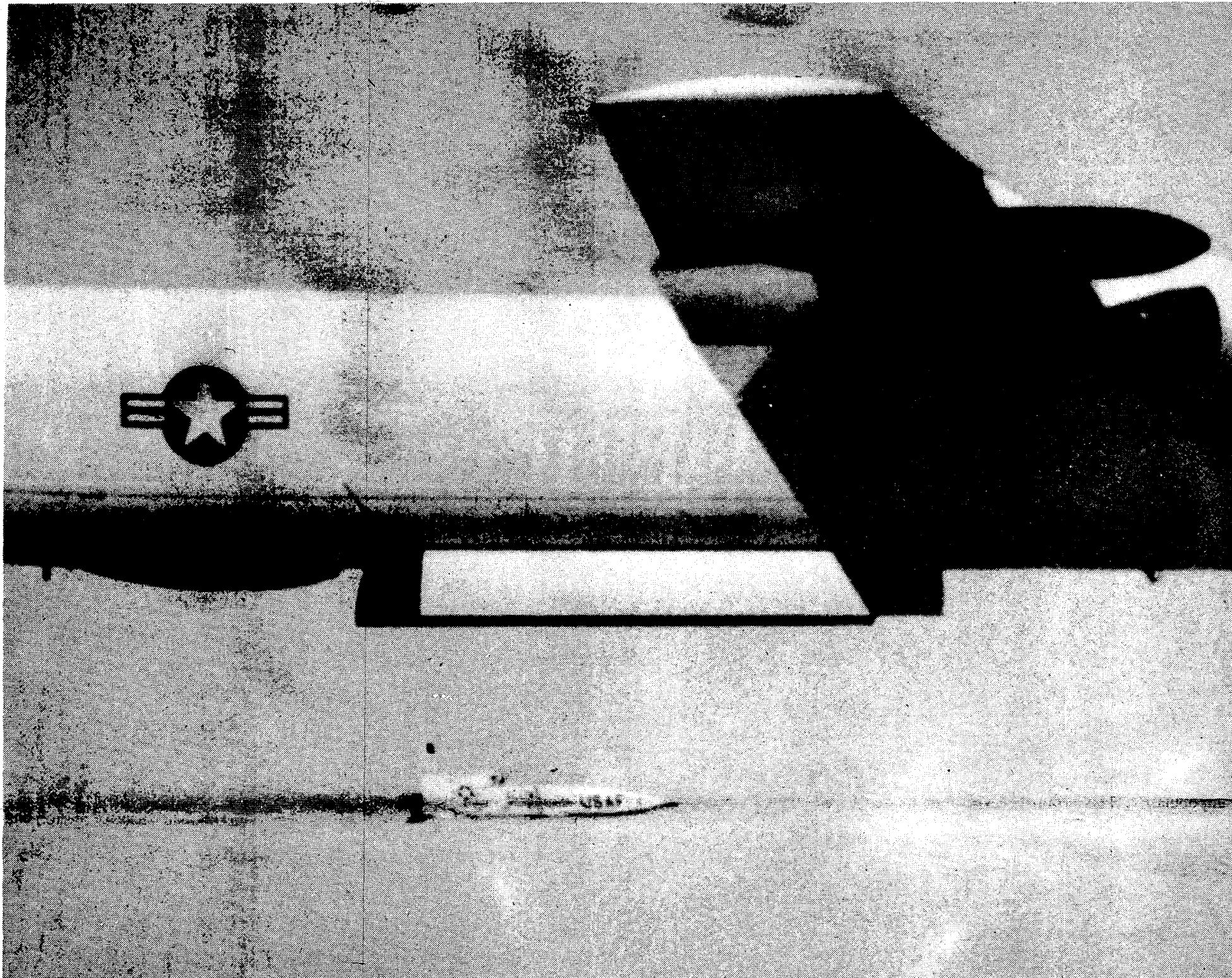
Washington obviously hopes that its clout, together with that of Egypt, still the Arab world's largest country, and Israel, now the region's foremost military power, will compel enough of the rest, perhaps even some Palestinians, to follow suit. Under the influence of then-dominant British imperialism, a similar process occurred in 1948-49. One by one, Egypt, then Lebanon, Jordan and finally Syria, signed armistice agreements with Israel.

The 1949 status quo lasted, more or less, until 1967. The two main factors working to break it down were the rise of radical Arab nationalism—which began in Egypt with the Nasserist revolution—and the instability caused by the uprooted Palestinian refugees. Details have changed during the 30 years since 1949: radical Arab nationalism has reached certain limits in its ability to modernize class-based, semi-industrialized societies, and the Palestinian refugees have become a cohesive national entity, under a broad-based leadership, without whose participation stability in the Middle East looks much less possible than it did in 1949.

The U.S. may seek to protect other interests this time by pushing towards a reasonable solution for the Palestinians. But if it does, it runs the risk of ultimately losing customers for its tanks, planes and other war paraphernalia, and of letting Jews and Arabs discover that perhaps there are things more worthwhile than fighting each other.

IN THE NATION

ARMS & THEIR USES



U.S. Air Force

The Air Force's air-launched cruise missile (ALCM) being launched from the weapons bay of a B-52 Stratofortress on its first powered flight, March 5, 1976, at the Army's White Sands Missile Range in New Mexico.

The U.S. strategic policy debate

PART I

By John Judis

WASHINGTON

A NEW MOOD OF CRISIS PREVAILS in Washington. The Soviet military build-up, the "loss" of Southeast Asia, then Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan and now Iran. What went wrong? What can be done?

The mood was captured in *Business Week's* recent special issue on "The Decline of U.S. Power" and in *Newsweek's* foreign policy feature entitled "Feeling Helpless."

In Congress, the mood manifests itself in a rush to raise the 1980 defense budget. Lacking any better understanding, Congress' initial response to intractable problems has been to throw money at them.

But among the foreign policy elite—the high officials in the State and Defense Departments, the investment bankers, the trusted academics—a debate is raging over the direction of American policy. The Carter administration finds itself in the center of this debate rather than on one side of it.

American relations with the Soviet Union, China, the SALT negotiations, nuclear strategy, and how the U.S. will re-

late the evolutionary movements in the Third World hinge on the outcome of this debate.

In this two-part series, I relate what I learned of this debate from studying the relevant documents and from both on and off the record interviews with administration officials, congressional foreign policy experts and members of the foreign policy elite. My initial focus was nuclear strategy, SALT II and the defense budget, but I found myself continually drawn into the larger debate.

This week, I'll outline that debate and show how it may intersect with another debate that is taking place around developing a first-strike capability. Next week, I'll show what this debate has meant for SALT II and the defense budget. I'll also survey some alternatives to the foreign policy elite's view of our predicament.

The Naked Cold Warrior

Since World War II, the overriding aim of American foreign policy has been to construct a healthy global capitalism. The U.S. feared the creation of an exclusive European capitalist trading bloc as much as it feared a socialist Europe or Asia. But the worldwide actions that the U.S. took, ranging from foreign aid to spot-interventions and from CIA subver-

sion to full-scale war, were justified by the alleged threat of monolithic Communism, led by the Soviet Union.

Three developments that took place, largely in the '60s, undermined both the Cold War ideology and the means used to achieve American objectives:

- The Sino-Soviet split destroyed the image of a monolithic Communist movement led by the USSR.

- The war in Vietnam both cast doubt upon the image of the U.S. as the defender of freedom against Chinese or Soviet attempts to take over the world, and suggested that full-scale and even spot-intervention was no longer a viable strategy for achieving American objectives.

- The Soviet military buildup that began in the wake of the Cuban missile crisis, and led to rough equality with the U.S., ruled out nuclear brinkmanship either directly against the Soviet Union or against its allies.

Lyndon Johnson's foreign policy advisers were determined to ignore these developments. Dean Rusk continued to deny that China and the Soviet Union were at each other's throats. It took Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger to inject a note of realism into American foreign policy. They replaced the American commitment to intervene on behalf of its allies with the "Nixon Doctrine," for the U.S. to train and equip its allies to fight their own battles. They acknowledged

the People's Republic of China in order to gain new leverage over the Soviet Union, and they signed SALT I to lessen the risk of nuclear war, at least until the U.S. had regained its superiority.

While Nixon and Kissinger still resorted to Cold War idioms, they also introduced new considerations of *realpolitik* into the foreign policy debate. The world now had more than one superpower, and balance of power once more played a respectable role in foreign affairs.

But the defeats in Vietnam, Angola and now Iran left deep scars on the Nixon Doctrine. Soviet determination to eliminate the American advantage in nuclear warheads heightened the uneasiness about SALT among those who feared it would hamstring the U.S. And Ronald Reagan's success in Republican primaries showed that Kissinger's *realpolitik* was politically vulnerable.

The U.S. position has not changed: the leadership still seeks the same objectives, but it cannot invoke the same political, ideological or military means that succeeded in the past. With the Kissinger-Nixon initiatives in doubt, many in the foreign policy elite have now joined the search for a new strategy and ideology.

Two schools of thought.

The founding of the Trilateral Commission was one response to the foreign policy crisis; the Council on Foreign Relations' "1980s Project" was another. With-

The foreign policy crisis has led to heated debate about American nuclear strategy. But the debate is behind locked doors. Outsiders can only conjecture about what's happening.

in the Carter administration, a major policy review led to Presidential Review Memorandum 10 (PRM-10).

While PRM-10 remains classified, and much of the discussion has taken place behind closed doors, it's possible to piece together two different schools of thought that represent the polarities in the current debate.

One is identified with the foreign policy of Andrew Young and such State Department doves as Richard Holbrooke, Leslie Gelb, and Anthony Lake; in arms policy, it is identified with Paul Warnke and such State Department arms control advocates as Thomas Halstead.

The other school of thought is most clearly identified with veteran defense planner Paul Nitze, who quit the SALT delegation in 1974 because of disagreements with U.S. détente policy, and subsequently formed the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD). The CPD's initial 141 members included former Johnson administration members Eugene Rostow and Dean Rusk, former Nixon cabinet officials Melvin Laird and David Packard, and Henry Jackson and the Coalition for a Democratic Majority.

The Young/Warnke school holds an optimistic view of current affairs. They believe that Third World countries, allowed to pursue their independent development, will naturally gravitate into the American free-market camp because of its economic superiority over the Soviet bloc. They argue that in trying to prop up pro-American but unpopular regimes, the U.S. only sows the seeds of its own unpopularity. This group believes that the real American error in Iran came in 1953 when the CIA helped overthrow the popular Mossadegh regime in favor of the Shah.

The Young/Warnke school views the Soviet Union as a decaying society, whose regime is cautious and conservative rather than adventurous and revolutionary. They think that the Soviet Union will eventually be drawn into the world capitalist camp.

On SALT, they believe that the two sides are roughly equal in military capability and that there is little chance either can gain superiority. They see the Soviet arms build-up flowing from its fear of encirclement. And they believe there is substantial backing in the Soviet Union for genuine arms control.

The Nitze/Jackson school has a much darker view of the present. They see the Soviet Union as a revolutionary society bent upon world domination by any means necessary, including nuclear war. They think that it has already surpassed the U.S. in nuclear weaponry and that a SALT treaty will merely tie American hands in trying to catch up.

They deplore Carter's overextended human rights policy. They blame the Shah's fall partly on the encouragement that this policy gave to the Shah's opponents. They think the U.S. has to defend anti-Communist regimes, whether in Argentina or South Africa. They hesitate to recommend full-scale interventions, but they want the U.S. to be ready for spot interventions, particularly in the Mideast.

Unrealistic optimism

Neither school of thought is willing to reconsider the role of American foreign policy. The Young/Warnke school recalls Walt W. Rostow's theory of history in his *Stages of Economic Growth*. Rostow's model, drawn in response to the Marxist model, says that all societies eventually become capitalist, including socialist ones. Rostow did not, however, claim they would also become American allies!

The Nitze/Jackson school's portrait of Soviet intentions is so one-sided that

it suggests that they might be offering such an analysis purely for public consumption. Nitze, after all, made the oft-cited declarations, which, he said, "have as their aim political and psychological effects."

In the absence of a clear view of their own, Carter and his advisers straddle these two schools of thought, with Secretary of State Cyrus Vance leaning toward Young/Warnke and National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski leaning toward Nitze/Jackson. (Brzezinski shares the Nitze/Jackson tilt toward China and authoritative sources report that he shares some of their reservations with SALT II.) In the case of SALT II, Carter has tried to play both sides against the middle.

To win over Senate hawks, he has given them a retired general for an arms control chief; and he has proposed a \$4.4 billion supplemental increase to the 1979 military budget and a 3 percent real increase for 1980. The supplemental request includes funds for the MX missile, that arms control advocates say will destabilize the nuclear balance and make SALT III an impossibility.

Carter's aids justify the funds request by trotting out old Cold War visions of Soviet tanks rumbling across Flanders and Soviet missiles pointed at the U.S. But this, of course, only adds further fuel to the anti-SALT arguments of the Nitze/Jackson school, based on precisely these visions. It puts Nitze and Jackson in a position to exact new concessions in return for their support of the treaty.

At the same time, Carter has aroused fear among Senate arms control advocates that the treaty is not worth the bribes and compromises that accompany it.

In this way, SALT II may become the victim of Carter's misguided centrism.

But if SALT is not ratified, or is maimed in the process, the deeper reason will not be a "failure of leadership at the core," in *Business Week's* words, but the confusion and lack of realism that generally prevails among America's foreign policy elite.

First Strike or Second Best?

The foreign policy crisis has led to a heated debate about American nuclear strategy. This debate is occurring behind even more tightly-sealed doors than the general foreign policy debate. Outsiders can only conjecture about what is happening.

But the range of conjecture is sufficiently alarming to warrant some discussion. The debate between the Young/Warnke and Nitze/Jackson schools seems to parallel a debate between those who emphasize the deterrent capabilities of our nuclear weaponry and those who want a first-strike superiority over the Soviet Union.

The advocates of deterrence believe that neither side is capable of regaining superiority and that it is thus desirable to increasingly limit the role that nuclear weapons play in foreign policy.

The first-strike advocates believe that, through the development of more accurate missiles and advances in anti-submarine warfare, the U.S. could gain a first-strike superiority over the Soviet Union.

This would give the U.S. the power to blackmail the Soviet Union and its allies into political concessions. A paper that was circulating within defense circles describes the potential of space-laser weaponry for establishing American first-strike superiority. While its scientific claims are open to question, its description of the political advantages that would

accrue probably typifies a strain of Pentagon thought. It would create, according to the author a "Pax Americana" with an effectiveness and flexibility never dreamed of in the centuries [sic] of Pax Britannia."

This year the debate over nuclear strategy surfaced in disagreements over some emphases in Defense Secretary Harold Brown's posture statements for 1980. Differences over actual policies can be inferred from the public debate.

MAD vs. Counterforce.

In the last 15 years, there have been two major changes in public nuclear policy. In his 1969 posture statement, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara formulated the policy of "finite deterrence." And in his 1975 posture statement, Sec. of Defense James Schlesinger formulated the policy of counterforce.

McNamara's policy was also dubbed MAD, which stood for mutually assured destruction. McNamara argued that the U.S. need only be able to knock out one-fifth to one-fourth of the Soviet population and one-half of its industry to possess an "effective deterrent." If both the U.S. and the USSR possessed such a deterrent, a state of MAD had been reached, and this would prevent the outbreak of nuclear war.

Against this, Schlesinger later maintained that the U.S. should also be able to knock out the hardened silos in which Soviet missiles were housed. This "counterforce" or "countermilitary" strategy was necessary, in the event that the Soviets launched a limited strike against American missiles, and Americans wanted to limit their retaliation to Soviet missile-sites.

To carry out Schlesinger's strategy, it was not sufficient simply to point American missiles at Soviet missile silos. To destroy a hardened-site, a degree of accuracy was needed that the U.S. was only first beginning to achieve in the early '70s. Schlesinger championed the new guidance systems that would get the nuclear warheads to their target.

When Harold Brown became Secretary of Defense, he had already declared his reservations about the Schlesinger policy, and his first posture statement contains only oblique references to the limited nuclear war option. But his 1980 statement contains the fullest discussion of the strategy to date, which Brown christens anew as a "countervailing strategy."

"A strategy based on assured destruction is no longer credible," Brown states. "It would be mistaken to leave a potential enemy with the knowledge that the President, if faced with an attack that avoided cities, would have only the options of an all-out response or no response at all."

This renewed emphasis on counterforce reportedly caused a great debate in the Pentagon, still unresolved. It is reported that earlier versions of the statement were even more positive on counterforce, but that Brown advised William Kaufmann, who made the final draft, to tone them down and add some reservations and qualifications.

One Defense Department planner told me by phone when I called to arrange an interview that he was "very cynical" about the new strategy. He would be glad to talk to me, he said, but I should understand that I would be getting his opinion and not the official position. He called back an hour later to tell me that he had been informed that regulations forbade him making an appointment directly with me. I should go through the Pentagon Public Affairs Office.

On the surface, the debate over counterforces has nothing to do with first strike vs. deterrence. As with all public policy

statements, unclear strategy is always seen as retaliatory and defensive. But there are reasons for linking this debate with the more fundamental and menacing debate.

Attacking empty silos.

The most important of reasons has to do with the outward coherence of the counterforce strategy, as presented in public statements. As former weapons engineer Robert C. Aldridge pointed out in *The Counterforce Syndrome*, it makes little sense to attack Soviet missile silos *after* they have unleashed their missiles in a first strike. Moreover, a purely limited first strike against Soviet missiles would also make little sense since it could easily lead to an all-out attack against the U.S. "The only plausible reason for developing a counterforce capability," Aldridge argues, "is to acquire the capacity to launch an unanswerable first strike against the Soviet Union." Such an attack would have to destroy not only Soviet land-based missiles, but also its submarine and possibly long-range aircraft.

There are other considerations in favor of this link. The "unsanitized" versions of the Posture Statement estimate and chart Soviet casualties after an American counterforce first strike. In the public version, however, all data assumes a Soviet first-strike and American retaliation.

In the Feb. 1978 discussion of the 1979 posture statement, defense officials seemed to betray the counterforce logic presented to the public. The *New York Times* reported that defense officials explained that the U.S. had decided "not to imitate Soviet first-strike efforts." The Soviet "first-strike" efforts, officials stated, consisted of building a counterforce capability against land-based American missiles.

The Pentagon officials with whom I finally talked denied any connection between counterforce and first strike. So did William Kaufmann, whom I reached at M.I.T. Kaufmann also denied that the statement on counterforce had created much debate.

When I repeated Aldridge's arguments on the use of counterforce, he summarily rejected them. "It is just not necessarily true," Kaufmann said, "that most of the silos would be empty after a Soviet attack. Silos would be reloaded." Counterforce would eliminate further attacks from these silos.

One congressional expert on nuclear strategy who is close to defense planners also denied that counterforce is a first-strike strategy. "I don't believe the U.S. is actively seeking a first-strike strategy," he said. But he acknowledged that "if I were the Russians and saw statements targeting all my silos, I would think so. If you're talking about making ICBMS more accurate, you're talking about first-strike or launch on warning."

But wasn't he saying, I asked, that defense planners were talking about first strike? "No," he replied. "There is a technological imperative. These guys start working on something and they don't think about its strategic use. Of course, some do, but generally they don't."

I remained unconvinced by his argument and by Kaufmann's. There seems at least a good chance that critics like Aldridge, Daniel Ellsberg, and Sidney Lens, who have periodically warned that Dr. Strangelove is alive and well in the Pentagon, know what they are talking about.

If they do, there is special reason to fear that the first-strike mentality and the Nitze/Jackson school of thought to which it is related will gain new favor in the foreign policy vacuum that now exists within the beleaguered Washington elite.

SOUTHERN LABOR

Meatcutters fight for a contract

By Clare Raulerson
and John Buckley

THOMASVILLE, GA.

AFTER ALMOST 25 YEARS OF fighting for union representation and three months on strike, workers at Sunnyland Foods, Inc., in Thomasville, Ga., are now calling for a boycott of all company products.

Workers insist that an acceptable contract has to include union recognition, job security, a bona fide seniority system, a formalized grievance procedure, better health and hospitalization benefits and a living wage.

Sunnyland Foods is one of the largest meat processing operations in the Southeast with slaughter and processing houses in three states and a nine-state distribution area. Thomasville is the site of corporate headquarters and its largest pork plant that processes bacon, franks, fresh sausage, lunch meats and smoked sausage.

On March 17, 1977, employees at the Thomasville plant—mainly production and maintenance workers—participated in a union representation election, voting almost two-to-one in favor of Local 522 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

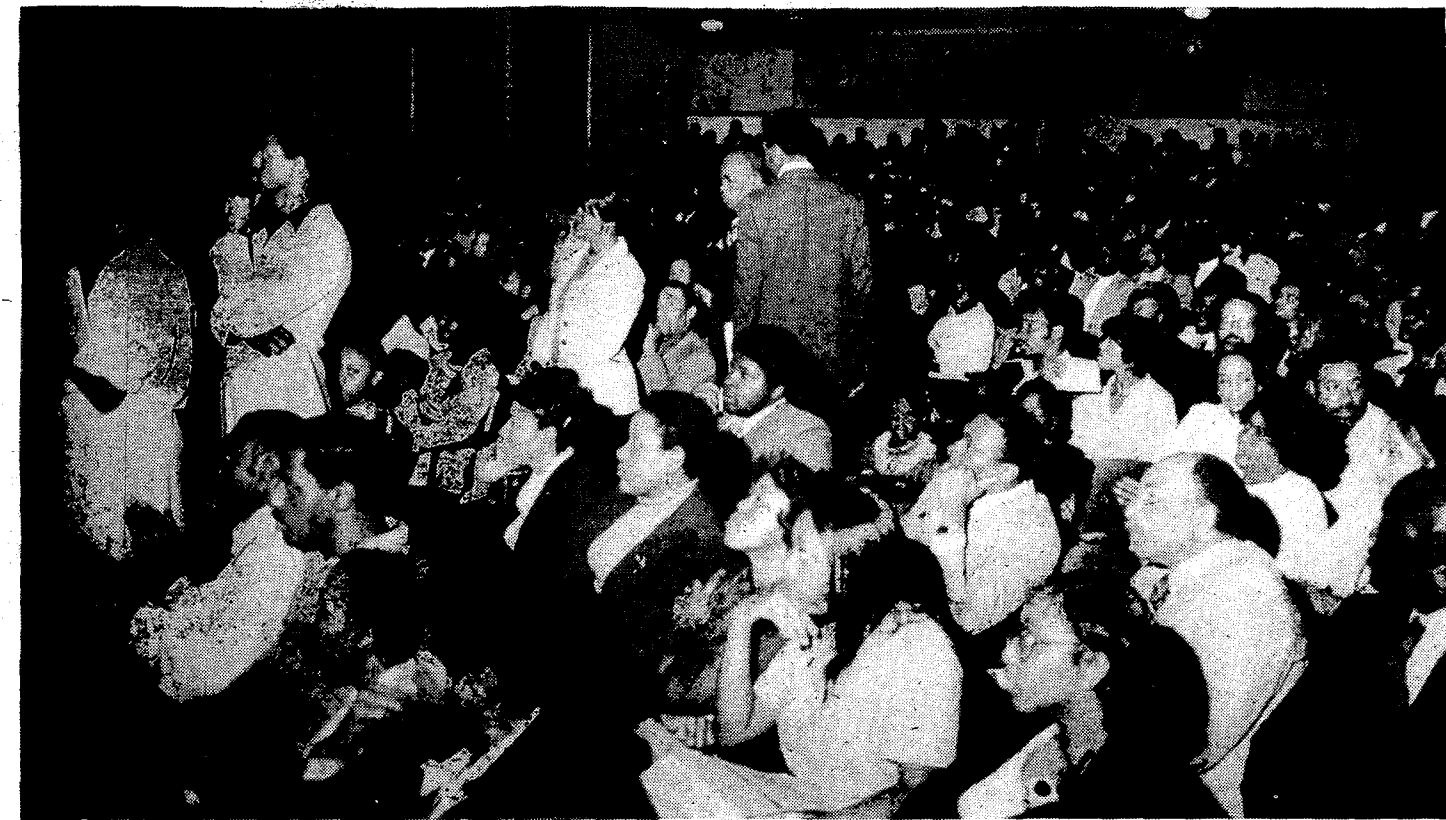
Sunnyland executives challenged the outcome of the election, taking their appeal to the National Labor Relations Board.

After more than a year of attempts to get Sunnyland to negotiate in good faith with the union, workers voted to strike Oct. 22, 1978.

Court upholds union.

In November 1978, as expected, the Fifth District Court of Appeals in New Orleans upheld the union's right to represent Sunnyland employees and negotiations began.

Unionists, religious leaders, students and other supporters in South Georgia and North Florida communities have organized strike-boycott support committees. Picket lines have been set up at local supermarkets, speaking engagements



Sunnyland workers at a February rally for the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workers in Thomasville, Ga.

are in the offing for strikers and union reps, and fundraising activities are being planned.

Pickers in Thomasville, Valdosta and Bainbridge, Ga., have reported a good response to the boycott. Sunnyland officials say it is too early to tell if the boycott is having an effect, but Harry Alston, AMCBW assistant director for civil rights, said, "There is no question that they are suffering financially from the strike and boycott."

They've been buying hogs that have already been slaughtered from other companies," Alston said. "Those companies may be charging Sunnyland extra money for the hogs because they know they need them."

Several meetings between the union and corporate representatives have occurred since the November decision, but Alston said the meetings constituted little more than "shadowboxing."

"There has been no real indication from Sunnyland of its serious intention to arrive at an equitable contract with the union," Alston said. "They have submitted a substandard contract they drew up for a plant in Alabama, but that contract was never accepted by the Alabama plant."

Boycott call.

At a Thomasville rally on Feb. 14, striking workers called for a boycott of Sunnyland products. Over 1500 people attended the rally, where Jesse Jackson (president of Chicago-based Operation PUSH) called for unity among blacks and whites—elusive in this struggle. Jackson emphasized that "the struggle is one of economics, not of race. All we're asking for is a decent, living wage for the workers at Sunnyland," Jackson said.

AMCBW international vice-president Addie Wyatt received an enthusiastic re-

sponse from the rally audience when she pointed out that women were getting an especially bad shake from the Sunnyland corporation.

Rosetta Kerbo, who has worked at Sunnyland ten years, seriously questions the absence of white women on the kill floor, which is staffed entirely by black workers.

"I asked the supervisor why there weren't any white women on the kill floor and he said that the white women weren't qualified," Kerbo said. "He must think that black women are born with a boning knife in their hand."

"Working conditions are the strongest motivating factors for the strike," said Alston, who came from Chicago to assist the strikers.

"Money is an item, but the strikers realize that wages are low in Thomasville. They aren't expecting the sort of

Continued on Page 8.

J.P. Stevens takes tougher stance against union

By Jack Mann

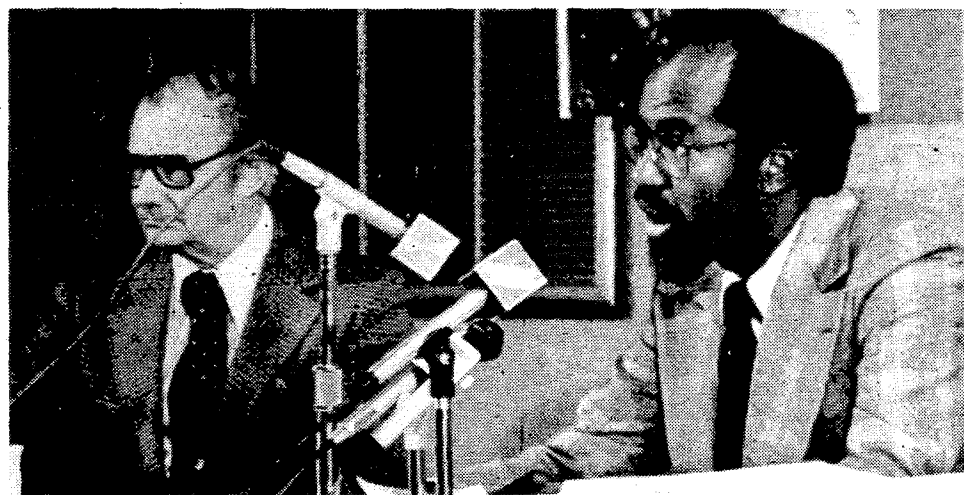
GREENVILLE, S. C.

J.P. STEVENS CO., THE NATION'S second largest textile firm, took its strongest anti-union stand ever, as shareholders at its annual convention here March 6 overwhelmingly rejected three union and church-sponsored resolutions that would have made Stevens more responsive to its workers.

Held at Textile Hall, Greenville's cavernous exhibition center and a fitting place for the largest employer in South Carolina's largest industry to re-assert its dominance, the meeting was Stevens' second here since it left unionized New York for South Carolina, where unions have little hold and right-to-work laws keep it that way.

Local license tags proclaim Greenville "Textile Center of the World," and Stevens, with nearly half its 44,000 employees in South Carolina, employs 9000 workers in 28 plants in and around Greenville.

Amid bright displays of Stevens' products, 700 stockholders gathered to hear board chairman James D. Finley tell them, "unions should stop wasting their time." Pointing to 1978 sales of \$1.65 billion, a 7 percent jump over 1977, Finley announced that the two-year old Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union-backed boycott of the textile giant isn't working, although unions, he said, "along with churches, church organizations, universities, students and the like continue to



Rev. W.W. Finlator (left) and James E. Ferguson (right), SEJ officers.

harass the company."

Finley painted a glowing picture of the company's position, reporting expanding profits and increased revenues that he said showed "confidence in the future of the textile industry."

Stevens' 1978 annual report also depicts management winning the fight against unionization, claiming organizers "have proven they will attempt almost anything in their effort to hurt the company." "However," it concludes, "their effort has not been successful. We see no shift on their [Stevens' employees'] part toward the union."

Anti-union pickets.

Outside Textile Hall, arriving guests were greeted by a handful of noisy picketers from Stevens People and Friends for Free-

dom, an anti-union group of Stevens workers who wore sweatshirts saying "Stand Up for Stevens" and waved placards with slogans like "Boycotts Threaten Our Livelihood" and "New York Union Bosses Reap Benefit."

"They're afraid if they don't stand up for Stevens they'll lose their jobs," Pat Burgess, weaver at Stevens' White Horse No. 2, told an ACTWU welcome session on the eve of the meeting. Mrs. Burgess, who signed her ACTWU card in 1974, said she has been ostracized by co-workers for joining ever since.

"The women whisper behind my back and go out of their way to avoid me. It's like I've got leprosy. A lot of them are scared," she said, "especially the older women. They make more than ever and they just don't want to rock the boat."

In contrast to more boisterous demonstrations of previous years, ACTWU kept a low profile this year, preferring to work from the inside. "A Union Contract Is the Best Protection" was the theme of Monday night's meeting, which seemed subdued compared to last year's emotion-charged rally.

"We're not making a big presence here," said ACTWU spokesman Burt Beck. "We wanted to get people aware of what the J.P. Stevens situation was. If we haven't succeeded by now, something's wrong." Union representatives reminded workers that the National Labor Review Board (NLRB) upheld a ruling in December that found Stevens guilty of bad-faith bargaining at its Roanoke Rapids, N.C., plants.

Joining ACTWU against Stevens was Southerners for Economic Justice, a civil rights group founded in 1976. "Civil rights aren't useful unless they're extended into the workplace," said Mike Russell of SEJ's Greenville chapter. SEJ, said Russell, offers workers "an opportunity to speak directly to Stevens about the issues."

Occupational safety

Occupational safety at Stevens' plants was a pivotal issue for pro-union forces. One proposal before stockholders, sponsored by a coalition of trade unions and religious groups, requested the board of directors to investigate job safety and health—specifically "brown lung" (byssinosis), excessive noise levels, toxic substance ex-

Continued on page 8.

WOMEN AT WORK

NOW wins jobs on the waterfront

By Jo Freeman

NEW YORK

FOR A FEW MONTHS AT LEAST women have integrated the male stronghold of longshore workers on the New York and New Jersey docks. On Jan. 12, the Waterfront Commission of New York Harbor gave in to mounting pressure from the New York City chapter of the National Organization for Women and sent letters to 108 women requesting their appearance "for processing for temporary registration as a longshoreman (sic)" (underlined in letter).

The events that led to this letter began the previous spring when the Waterfront Commission decided to transfer several hundred longshoremen to fill openings for cargo checkers. This job requires fewer skills than that of a longshoreman—merely the ability to count cargo as it is moved from ships to trucks—and pays \$24,000 a year.

The International Longshoremen's Association was not happy with this idea, since it meant dues paid to the dockworkers' local would be transferred to the cargo checker's local. Instead, the union wanted to open the employment register—closed since 1969—and give the checker jobs to newcomers.

But according to the *Journal of Commerce*, the newcomers would not be very new. Craig Howard wrote at the time that "It is common knowledge that the ILA leadership has been under pressure to find work for friends and relatives of union members or officials as well as racial minorities in high unemployment areas."

The ILA contested the Waterfront Commission's decision in federal court—and lost when the court ruled that the Commission had sole authority to decide how to fill the openings. In the meantime, the National Organization for Women had been watching these developments with great interest, since restricting applicants for the cargo checker jobs to current dockworkers effectively restricted them to men only.

"All the jobs are filled."

On Aug. 15, Jane Silver, hired by New York NOW on CETA funds to find blue-collar entry level jobs for women without college degrees or clerical skills, took six potential applicants to the Waterfront Commission office after both the union and the Waterfront Commission failed to return her numerous phone calls. The women applicants were told that all the cargo checker jobs were filled and "there were men on the waiting list."

According to Silver, they were told the only available jobs were as pier guards, and the only people who could be given applications were those with letters from companies saying they would be hired. Silver said she asked which companies were hiring pier guards, and was told that information could not be disclosed.

That afternoon Silver filed a complaint with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and shortly thereafter lawyer Lewis Tesser filed suit in federal court on behalf of NOW charging the Waterfront Commission with discriminatory practices. The case has not yet been heard.

In September, under pressure from the ILA and the New York Shipping Association, the Waterfront Commission agreed to open the employment register to 750 additional non-union workers—not cargo checkers. Notices were put up in the union hiring halls and neither NOW nor any other women's employment group was notified of these openings for two months.

When the register was almost full, George Benito, of the New York Shipping Association, called Silver and told her the Waterfront Commission had said they "had to get some women." He also said the register would only be open another two days. Despite the short notice and limited time, NOW and other wom-



Deborah Hall (above) and Paula Sandy (right), the first two women to work on Pier 36, in the hold of a ship, unloading 42 lb. crates.

en's employment groups were able to find 108 women to go to the Waterfront Commission on Nov. 7 and 20 and to request applications.

Heavy requirements.

The women were sent applications on Jan. 12, along with a letter requiring them to bring (1) \$10.00 so they could be fingerprinted, (2) two passport photographs, costing \$6.50, (3) a Social Security card (not just the number), and (4) any or all

wrote a statement that she was healthy.

Despite this letter, six weeks and several phone calls later she was told to take another physical. This time the Union doctor said she was overweight. According to Burgest, who is 5'4" and 195 pounds, "I put down my height and weight when I applied. If something was wrong why didn't they tell me then instead of my having to apply and pay all that money."

Some of the longshoremen told her that there were newly hired men who were

dockworkers brought their hooks and simulated coffee bags and banana boxes, so that the women could practice handling the cargo under supervision. They also taught them lifting, climbing and how to find the right kind of clothes.

During the training sessions Piccoro encouraged all the women to join NOW and All-Craft. If you show you're from an organized group," he said, "they think twice before pushing you around. But if you're all alone, you never can tell what might happen."

Women need organization.

The new women dockworkers will need all the organization they can find to keep their jobs. Legally, the Waterfront Commission cannot open up the employment register for permanent jobs without public hearings on their necessity. This must be done by Aug. 5, when the temporary permits run out.

At that time, some will contest that there are already more workers than there are jobs. Even though the register hasn't opened since 1969, technology has reduced the number of positions faster than the labor force. Craig Howard of the *Journal of Commerce* estimates that there are currently about 8500 positions and 10,000 dockworkers in the New York City area.

This has not bothered the union because under the contract all permanent (but not temporary) workers are guaranteed a minimum annual wage of \$18,000 as long as they are available for work, whether they actually work or not.

If the temporary positions are made permanent, the current workers do not necessarily become permanent. Technically, the register will be open on a first come-first serve basis, and the temporary workers must reapply along with anyone else. But since the Union and the Shippers Association have a history of advertising openings only among select circles, the general opinion is that the temporary workers will have an inside track.

But no one is prepared to guess the likelihood of the jobs becoming permanent. If the Waterfront Commission decides they are not necessary, over a year of effort to get a few dozen women off welfare or out of low-income jobs may prove futile. Of course, the Waterfront Commission may have the final say. NOW still has its employment discrimination suit in federal court.

"If you're from a group, they think twice before pushing you around. But if you're all alone, look out."

of four other listed certificates if applicable. The application had to be notarized and presented at a specific time and place.

The same day, the Shippers Association and the Union sent all new applicants another letter. This one required that they report to the Seniority Board for their work card, gang assignment and a \$40 physical examination.

The letter also advised applicants that "The hold position on certain ships constitutes extremely hazardous work and you must be prepared to take the risk of serious accident.... You must be prepared to lift cargo of substantial weight...[and] withstand very low and very high temperatures."

The letter also said that "the agreement between the union and management requires that you accept any and all work that is offered to you. You will not have the right to turn down any difficult, arduous or hazardous assignments."

Despite the length of time since registration, the fact that being certified did not guarantee work or wages, and the cost involved in merely applying for the six-month job, well over half of the women who had registered showed for their appointments with the Waterfront Commission. But not all made it to gang assignments.

Some women were rejected on the basis of their physical exams—even when the women's own doctors contested the Union doctor's assessment. Shirley Burgest, a 40-year-old woman who wants off welfare, was told to take her blood test over. She did so, but also saw her own doctor who

more overweight than she, and when NOW protested, she was finally assigned to a work gang in March—more than a month after most started work.

Not enough work.

Other women—and men—ran into problems when they were assigned to the Newark docks, one of the four shipping areas governed by the Waterfront Commission. There, permanent workers protested that there was insufficient work for them, and went on strike until the new workers were removed. Most of those removed have yet to be assigned elsewhere.

Those who actually began work are facing still another problem. The contract requires that they join the union within 30 days of their first assignment—even if they haven't worked since then. There is a \$1000 initiation fee. Since the availability of work is erratic, not all will have earned enough to pay the fee. Only the Brooklyn local has waived the fee for the temporary workers.

One problem many of the women didn't have to face was learning how to do the job. The Union provides no training, beyond a couple films on safety, expecting dockworkers to learn on the job. Anticipating that only some of the women had had experience with heavy lifting, dockworker Arthur Piccoro called Silver at NOW, and volunteered himself and several friends to train the women.

Since then, several training sessions have been held with most of the women at All-Craft, an institute for training women in the skilled trades. Piccoro said the

Meatcutters

Continued from page 6.

wages we have in what we call our 'master plants' like Armour and Swift."

Alston said the average wage at the Sunnyland plant is \$3.40 an hour. "Some people earn less than that and very few earn more than \$4 an hour," Alston said.

"A lot of people think we have it made because we take home paychecks of over \$150 a week," said Leroy Nash, who has worked at the plant nine years.

"What they don't realize is the amount of overtime we have to put in to get those checks and the kind of conditions we work under."

Sunnyland executive vice-president Bryant Harvard disagreed. "There are three times as many people working as there are on strike, so conditions must not be too bad for them or they wouldn't be working," Harvard said.

But Nash said that working conditions and employee benefits rank low on the list of Sunnyland priorities. "All the Sunny-

land people care about is how much money they can put in their pockets," Nash said. "They don't care about the workers or the workers' families."

\$54 a month retirement benefits.

Low retirement benefits and the absence of a seniority system for wages are issues often raised by the striking workers.

"Seniority has no bearing on what you get per hour," Nash said. He earns \$3.67 an hour while Robert Taylor, a fellow worker who has been at the plant for 19 years, earns \$3.57 per hour, he said.

"I went from the cooler to the killing floor to the cutting floor," Taylor said. "Next I'll go to the graveyard."

Retired Sunnyland workers receive a pension of \$54 a month; but this is a recent innovation. Sunnyland employees used to get a \$25 a month pension.

"My father worked for them for 28 years and he got \$25 a month when he retired," Nash said. "That's not even a dollar a year. If it weren't for social security he'd starve."

Harvard, when contacted at his office, said, "Our retirement program is good, probably as good as most." When pressed for details about the retirement plan,

Harvard refused further comment, saying, "You just want to get into specifics and I'm not going to do that."

Another complaint revolves around the company policy requiring workers to provide their own equipment.

"You have to buy all your equipment at the company store—knives, aprons, boots, hairnets, everything," she said.

"And the prices go up every week. They tell you that they're just selling you the stuff at cost, but I know prices don't go up that fast.

"You wind up taking a lot of your salary and putting it right back into the company," Kerbo added, "and we don't have anything to show for it."

Fire bombings.

Incidents of alleged fire-bombing have marred the otherwise peaceful strike.

"On Jan. 9 we had three fires reported, all at the houses of people who are still working at Sunnyland," said Thomasville police detective Willie Spencer.

Although there is no evidence linking the union with the fires, Thomasville police officer John Perry was quoted in the *Thomasville Times-Enterprise* as saying "There are too many fires to be a coincidence."

Bryant, who came out of retirement to assist in the strike, countered that there have been four or five fires at the homes of striking workers, but that these fires are not being investigated by the police.

"We've had three houses of striking workers burned out, and a fire at the house of the mother of one of the striking ladies," Bryant said.

"I'm sure the police know about these fires because the fire department was there for at least two of the fires."

But Thomasville police detective Spencer said he knew nothing about the other fires, and Thomasville fire chief I.D. Golden said there was no record of the fires at the fire department.

It's been a long struggle at Sunnyland, but the workers are determined to go the distance. "We're out here suffering, but sometimes you have to suffer to get what you want," Nash said. "We won't go back until we get the contract we want."

Stevens

Continued from page 6.

posure, and dangerous machinery. Supporters of the proposal cited violations of OSHA standards found in six of Stevens' South Carolina plants, including 15 serious transgressions.

Church people who condemned Stevens' policies drew wide applause from the audience, but chairman Finley responded with arrogance and impatience toward them, at one point remarking, "Let's not have any more sermons."

Finley kept a tight rein throughout the meeting, at times cutting off discussion and refusing to provide information requested by shareholders.

His arrogance toward church leaders typified Stevens' attitude toward anyone who challenges it, whether employees, unions, the law, or even its own stockholders. Finley's aloofness and impatience with speakers epitomized this arrogance, as did another Stevens' employee who told critics, "If anyone's not happy with the J.P. Stevens Company, there's a door they can go out of and leave us alone."

That union and church-backed proposals received such paltry support—less than 7 percent of the vote—was not surprising. The Stevens family (including president Whitney Stevens) owns more than 20 percent of the firm. Chairman Finley himself owns more than 20,000 shares.

"A year ago," said SEJ president James E. Ferguson of Charlotte, N.C., "J.P. Stevens was seen as a maverick, a lonely reactionary. Today they are in the vanguard of the emerging anti-worker business coalition." Ferguson and Russell cited the existence of the growing "business elite" in the South, actively working to block organizing and keep unions out. Little wonder, then, in such a climate, that the directors' suggestion that Stevens rotate cities for future conventions—to Atlanta, perhaps—received little response from shareholders. J.P. Stevens feels right at home in Greenville.

Bosses' credit union

The credit union of Sunnyland, Inc., is staffed entirely by management. John Beverly, president, Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen, Local 522, worries a lot these days about outstanding loans.

"Even during more peaceful times," he said, "workers have to worry about the capriciousness of the credit union board. If a worker is fired, for instance, and has a car loan outstanding, the credit union will try to get the car keys before the worker leaves the plant. If they are successful, they'll sell the car. They'll even keep the difference if the sale price exceeds the outstanding balance on the loan."

Other workers tell of instances of the salaries of relatives of discharged workers being encumbered in the event of out-

standing indebtedness to the credit union. The strike merely complicates matters.

Over \$15,000 of monies donated to support the strike has been used to cover past due notes. Another \$10,000 will have to be found soon. "Shut-offs" of utilities have already begun.

In spite of the difficulties, spirits remain high. On International Women's Day at Florida State University in Tallahassee, Barbara Addison, one of the striking workers, told a receptive audience, "As a worker and a mother and a woman employed at Sunnyland, I know conditions are bad. What could happen if women remained quiet? Today's preparation determines tomorrow's success."

—Clare Raulerson & John Buckley

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IN THE WORLD

IRANIAN WOMEN

Women protest loss of freedoms in the revolution

By Eric Leif Davin

PITTSBURGH

KATEH VAFADARI IS BOTH fired and excited. For the past five days, beginning on March 8, International Women's Day, Kateh has been a principal organizer of the first demonstrations against the new Islamic government of Iran. Centered around the demands by women for an equal share in the fruits of the revolution, the protests have become the first public threat to the rule of the religious leaders.

As National Secretary of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran and a founder of the new Committee to Defend Human Rights, Vafadari is responsible for bringing American feminist Kate Millett to Tehran to participate in the International Women's Day celebrations, the first time in Iranian history that day had been celebrated.

"It was amazing," she said in a telephone interview from Iran with *ITT*, "We never expected anything like this. Nobody expected anything like this. Iranian women have never in our history acted so independently before."

Vafadari explained how a committee of 12 women sat down to plan some kind of an event for March 8. They issued a call for a demonstration and ignited an explosion of frustration and resentment, the size of which surprised them. "It has been totally spontaneous," she said. "Thousands of women in the streets! First the marches, then the occupation of the Ministry of Justice, it's all unbelievable to us. I think it shows that there is a large

segment of the female population which will not return to the structures of the Koran."

Vafadari described the latest demonstration on March 12 as composed primarily of women who have entered the work force, not all at a professional level. And, although large numbers of college students and even high school girls participated, there were also significant numbers of family women wearing the chador, the veil.

"Of course, working women who have been most westernized feel the most threatened," she said, "but more and more traditional women will join the movement if it continues like this. They have no jobs to lose, it is true, but they feel angry at the renewed power of the male in the family under the new government."

Anger runs deep.

Vafadari described the anger of the women as very deep. For six hours on March 12, she said, 15,000 women marched through Tehran chanting: "At the dawn of freedom, we have no freedom!" It is an anger directed not only at the Ayatollah Khomeini's directions to abandon Western dress and to go, once more, "under the veil," but also at a wide range of changes which have taken place in the status of women since the revolution.

Calling co-ed education an evil that has turned the schools of Iran into "centers of prostitution," the new government has forbidden males and females from attending the same schools. All women, Vafadari said, have been banned from radio and TV, with males taking over their jobs. Female judges and lawyers have been threatened with disbar-



Kateh Vafadari, one of the organizers of women's demonstrations in Iran.

ment and expulsion from their positions.

The Family Protection Act of 1963 has been rescinded. It had made it unlawful for a man to take a second wife without the consent of his first wife, outlawed the practice of a man obtaining a divorce simply by declaring he wanted one, and gave women the right to seek a divorce.

For women, the old ways are returning. A daughter inherits half what a son does. On the death of her husband, a woman inherits one-eighth of his estate. A woman may not travel or take a job without her husband's consent. A woman may not be a witness in a divorce case. In a

religious court, the testimony of a man can only be equalled by the testimony of two women.

All this must change, Vafadari said. "We want the new laws that are being drawn up to guarantee a woman's rights of travel, divorce and work. We want to choose for ourselves what we will wear. We want equal civil rights with men. We want an end to discrimination and full political, social and economic rights. If these rights are not written into the new constitution, in advance, then the movement will call for a boycott of the March 10."

Continued on page 10.

YEMEN

A show of U.S. force as South fights North

By Robert A. Manning

THERE WAS AN EERIE SENSE OF déjà vu as a U.S. aircraft carrier task force steamed into the Persian Gulf, dozens of U.S. military advisers and \$390 million in U.S. military hardware poured into Yemen, a country as obscure to most Americans as Vietnam was in the early 1960s.

The three-week-old conflict between North and South Yemen is the latest flare-up in what has been an almost ongoing feud between the conservative Saudi-backed regime in North Yemen and Marxist South Yemen, both of which sit at the underbelly of oil-rich Saudi Arabia on the tip of the Arabian peninsula.

There are charges and counter charges as to who started the conflict, but tensions have been on the rise since last June, when a bizarre sequence of events left the president of both North and South Yemen dead within a 48-hour period. The details of the intrigues behind those events are still hazy, but a left shift in South Yemen resulted in the ouster and execution of then-president Salem Robavi Ali. Then North Yemen president Ahmed al-Gashmi

was assassinated when a bomb concealed in the briefcase of a South Yemen envoy exploded.

The only reliable eyewitness account of the fighting was from a correspondent of a British TV news agency, Visnews, Souheil Rashed. Rashed claims that the fighting has not been led by South Yemen, but by leftist North Yemen guerrillas of the National Democratic Front, which is based in the South Yemen capital of Aden.

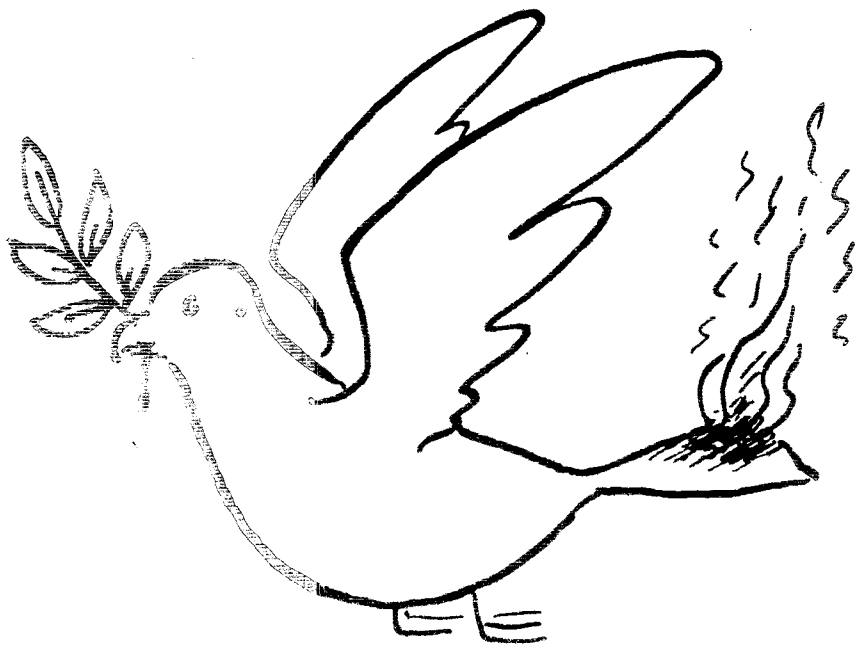
According to Rashed, three border towns that much of the press reported were occupied by South Yemen, in the rugged mountainous terrain across the border, were actually occupied by the guerrillas, armed with Soviet weapons. Rashed said he saw no signs of regular South Yemen troops.

First fallout from Iran.

The Yemen conflict appears to be the first real fallout from the upheaval in Iran, which has dramatically shifted the balance of forces in the region and dealt a serious blow to U.S. influence in the Middle East.

Ironically, Carter's decision to make a high profile tough example of U.S. resolve came as the war itself began winding down due to Arab League mediation efforts.

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BAS

Yemen

Continued from page 9.

But Carter's response is part and parcel of an emerging post-Shah strategy for the Mideast. And it is hardly coincidence that the American show of strength in the region came as Carter was shuttling between Cairo and Tel Aviv, seeking to get a peace accord finalized.

But despite the efforts to demonstrate a firm U.S. commitment of projecting American power in the region and to exhibit strong leadership at a time when Carter's foreign policy is in shambles, the administration's first direct intervention since Vietnam did not go without criticism from Congress.

But the U.S. projection of power has more to do with the demise of U.S. policy in the region than with the particulars of the Yemen conflict, which even U.S. intelligence officials admit is far from a clear picture.

North Yemen is a key Saudi client that sits at the tip of the Arabian peninsula, near the narrow Strait Bab el Mandeb, through which the huge supertankers carrying precious crude oil from the Gulf pass every seven minutes.

Saudi Arabia has staged a continual campaign to destabilize leftist South Yemen, and opposed Yemeni efforts to merge the two countries. If leftist forces took over in North Yemen, a poor country of seven million, it would send shock waves through the ruling Saudi royal family.

Carter frantic for options.

Since the Shah's ouster, Carter has been frantically canvassing the options to increase the U.S. involvement and influence in the region. The key to the administration's designs is a settlement in the Mideast. Carter seeks to weave together a "grand alliance," backed by U.S. economic and military power. The alliance would include conservative Arab states such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Sudan, Morocco, but most important of all, Israel,

which has the most sophisticated military apparatus in the Mideast. Such a formation would more than offset the "loss" of Iran.

Already, the U.S. has decided to beef up its presence in the Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean area. More than a year ago, Carter ordered Defense Secretary Harold Brown to organize a mobile, "quick-strike" force geared for intervention in Third World crisis situations. The force consists of 100,000 troops, including two amphibious Marine divisions.

But in the wake of Iran, the administration favors the Pentagon's aim of a permanent military presence in the Indian Ocean. The military commitment to North Yemen (financed by Saudi petrodollars), to Saudi Arabia and to Egypt is only part of the picture. A new U.S. naval force called the Fifth Fleet is being prepared by the Pentagon. It will operate permanently in the Indian Ocean.

Final plans are not yet worked out, but the new fleet would use the American base at Diego Garcia, which can house aircraft carriers and is considered a full-scale naval and air support facility. This will improve the logistic capability for intervention by Carter's quick-strike force.

The U.S. is also canvassing options for another U.S. base in the Gulf area. The Saudis, not wanting to appear under the American fold, have rejected a U.S. offer to create a base on Saudi territory. But the administration is considering the Omani island of Masira, which was once a British base. The Sultan of Oman is due in Washington in April and is seeking U.S. military aid and may finalize a deal regarding the use of Mazira.

"National security."

In the highly charged Cold War atmosphere in the aftermath of Iran, there has been little careful scrutiny of the Carter administration's new policy of reasserting American strength. In fact, in the case of Yemen, Carter declared it a matter of "national security," and thus bypassed the congressional review process, without a word of outcry on Capitol Hill.

In the mood of near-panic over the fate of strategic oil supplies, Carter appears

as concerned with assuaging domestic critics who have attacked him for indecisive leadership as with demonstrating U.S. credibility abroad.

U.S. relations with Saudi Arabia may also be a key motive in Carter's relations with Yemen. U.S.-Saudi ties have become strained as the Saudi's fear that the Camp David accord may result in a separate peace between Israel and Egypt rather than a comprehensive settlement.

At the same time, there have been hints of a burgeoning power struggle within the royal family, that could surface when King Khalid, who is in ill health, dies. The Saudi's have begun to talk of normalizing relations with the Soviet Union, their arch enemy.

Whether Saudi overtures to Moscow

reflect tensions within the royal family or are a warning to the U.S., they do seem to reflect the reality that East-West conflicts may be replacing the Arab-Israeli conflict as the major conflict in the region. The Saudis have been increasingly concerned about leftward shifts in the region, since the Shah's downfall.

Leftist South Yemen is backed by the Soviet Union and Cuba, and is the only avowedly Marxist state in the Middle East. Aden has not only backed North Yemeni radicals, but also the guerrillas of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO), fighting against Sultan Qaboof, who rules Oman, its neighbor to the east.

Washington's tough response to the Yemen crisis reflects the unfolding new political alignment in the region. ■

Iranian women

Continued from page 9.

30 elections being held to determine our form of government. The boycott is a very real threat."

Strongest in Tehran.

The women's movement is presently strongest in Tehran and the other large cities of northern Iran. "It is difficult to say what the strength of the movement is in the rest of the country," she said. "Communications in the country have broken down and news outside the cities travels by word of mouth."

Still, it is evident that the explosive emergence of the women has become a rallying point for those elements of the revolution who have expressed dissatisfaction with the religious leaders: the Marxist People's Fedayeen, the Socialists and Social Democrats, the Communist Tudeh Party, and some of the new political parties that have emerged, such as the National Democratic Front, founded by Hedayatollah Matin-daftari, a grandson of the revered Mohammed Mossadegh.

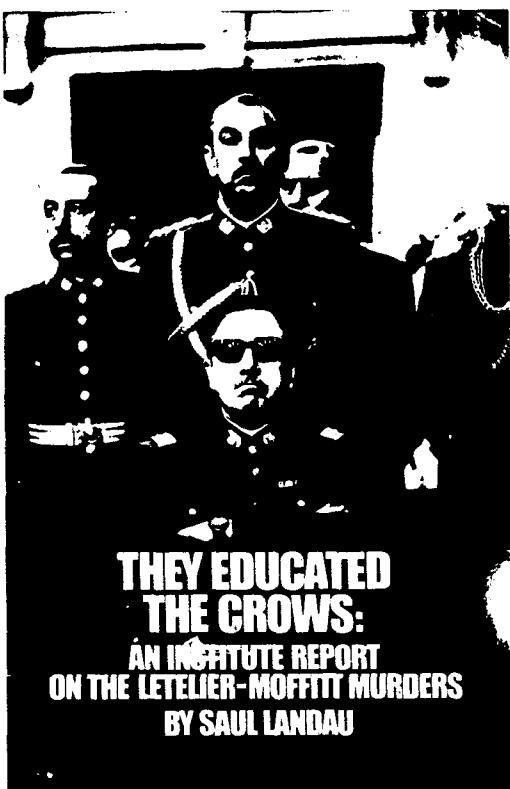
Although the government of Prime Minister Bazargan has had its own troubles with the religious leaders recently, it has not yet definitely sided with the women. Vafadari stated that there was a large amount of sexual harassment of Western-dressed women in the streets by "frustrated, backward hooligans" immediately after Ayatollah Khomeini's condemnation of Western dress, but that died down when Bazargan ordered two to six-month sentences for those convicted of such harassment.

A definite statement from Prime Minister Bazargan was expected March 14. And, immediately thereafter, a mass meeting of women was planned for March 15 at Tehran University to discuss Bazargan's reply to their demands.

Vafadari was also at pains to emphasize that the women, herself included, are not so much opposed to the Ayatollah Khomeini as to specific actions and statements of his. "The majority of Iranians still support the Ayatollah," she said.

"But he had made ambiguous and contradictory statements concerning women. In fact, the militancy of the women has surprised him and he has already backed down on his orders to abandon Western dress. But, it's not enough. We want specific guarantees of our rights. If the religious leaders guarantee our rights, the women will still support them." ■

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VIETNAM



Prime Minister Pham Van Dong of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in conversation with Wilfred Burchett last December.

Vietnamese leadership perseveres

By Wilfred Burchett

PARIS

VIETNAM'S THIRD MAJOR invasion in three decades is being faced with a high degree of national unity and leadership continuity that beats all international records.

Apart from the late Ho Chi Minh, the same old revolutionaries who founded the Vietminh in May 1941, seized power from the Japanese and French in August 1945, and directed the two long resistance wars against France and the U.S., are now leading the struggle against the Chinese invaders.

Pham Van Dong, Le Duan, Truong Chinh, Vo Nguyen Giap, Van Tien Dung, Le Duc Tho and other veterans are all at their posts. They are reinforced by a younger generation that won its spurs in the greatest trial until now—fighting off U.S. imperialism and its Saigon puppets.

There is no lack of high quality replacements for the "old guard" when time inevitably takes its toll. But Ton Duc Thang, who succeeded Ho Chi Minh as president, still fulfills his functions at 91, and symbolizes the fact that the "old guard" may

be around for many years to come.

In the present war, the accumulated experience of the Vietnamese leadership and the unity of its people could be decisive. In China the giants of the past are dead or disgraced. The news agencies report that despite a party Central Committee directive banning demonstrations or wall posters criticizing China's invasion of Vietnam, at least one wall poster in Peking on the sixth day of the attack, severely criticized China's betrayal of internationalist principles and its consequent isolation in world opinion. The ban is highly significant and the defiance of it even more so.

Writing from Peking in *Le Monde* (Feb. 24), Alain Jacob hints at dissensions within the Chinese leadership over the Vietnam invasion: "The question today is whether those who showed a certain coolness towards this adventure will not demand a settlement of accounts with those who took the initiative, when the success of the enterprise becomes more and more doubtful."

Jacob's article reveals the lack of that sort of unity that characterizes Vietnam. The exodus of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese "boat people" could be interpreted as proving Vietnamese disunity. But

knowledge of who they are, where they are going and why indicates the contrary.

"Boat people" frightened.

The overwhelming majority of "boat people" are Hoa, Vietnamese of Chinese origin, heading for Hong Kong, Taiwan or Malaysia, victims of well-organized propaganda from Peking that there would soon be a war between China and Vietnam and they had better get out while they could.

By the tens of thousands, they sold their shops and houses and awaited the evacuation ships Peking promised to send. The ships never arrived, because Peking refused to abide by normal international regulations, which Vietnam insisted on for the entry of foreign vessels in her ports. Those who had liquidated their belongings then fell into the clutches of a black market in boats and places in boats organized by racketeers in Hochiminhville (Saigon).

During my visit to Vietnam last December, I interviewed scores of Hoa residents in Hochiminhville, Hanoi and the northern border areas who told how they had been subjected to the "flee the war" propaganda. They included some who had actually fled and then returned, others who had refused or were unable to pay the high prices in gold demanded by the racketeers for places abroad the Hong-kong or Taiwan registered boats.

In a month-long tour, which took me from the flood-stricken Mekong Delta provinces in the south to the Chinese frontier in the north, I found high morale, a still higher sense of the national unity and confidence in the leadership that has successfully guided the nation through almost 40 years of incredible peril.

I met briefly with Vietnamese leaders, Dec. 22, on the opening day of a week-long session of the National Assembly. I had longer talks with some of them—including Prime Minister Pham Van Dong and Vice-President Nguyen Huu Tho—in the days that followed.

As evidence of distortion that passes for "information from well-informed sources," I found Education Minister Madame Nguyen Thi Binh (jailed according to some of these sources) in excellent form. (I had met her a couple of weeks earlier touring the flooded areas in the south.)

Giap in the pink.

Truong Chinh, "demoted" according to these same sources, delivered a two-hour opening report to the National Assembly, as president of its Standing Committee. Defense Minister Vo Nguyen Giap, I found literally in the "pink of health," his typically rosy cheeks, unruffled brow and exuberant vitality belying his 67 years.

It was amusing to check the description of him by Frank Snepp (*Decent Interval*), the CIA's "Chief Strategy Analyst" in Vietnam during the final years of the U.S. debacle there. Referring to the final offensive which led to Snepp and his fellow CIA "spooks" being plucked off the roof of the U.S. embassy in Saigon, he writes: "Gen. Giap, decrepit and ravaged by Parkinson's disease, was obviously not up to the task [of directing the offensive]." Snepp thought Giap's deputy had been running the Defense Ministry for the past four years.

That from the man who was highly paid by U.S. taxpayers to convey accurate information on Vietnam. In fact, Giap and his deputy Van Tien Dung, both in excellent health on Dec. 22, have worked together in the Number 1 and 2 positions in the Vietnamese People's Army for the past 35 years.

Under the code names of *Chien* (Vo Nguyen Giap) and *Tuan* (Van Tien Dung) the two old comrades directed the war-winning offensive of spring 1975, and today they are directing defensive operations against the Chinese invaders.

The Peking leadership seems to have counted on some cracks in the Vietnamese leadership and some weakness in morale due to war-weariness and the almost unprecedented floods that swept away at least one-quarter of the 1978 rice crop.

Some western observers have also equated a statistical drop in flood rations with a lowering of morale—a factor that may have comforted the Peking leadership, but is a fundamental misreading of the Vietnamese character. Adversity does not bring the Vietnamese people to their knees; it brings them to their toes.

In the worst of the flood-stricken areas of the Mekong Delta—Dong Thap province, for instance—I found the peasants not so much bewailing the tremendous loss of harvest, property and livestock, but marvelling at the organization that brought boats to pick them up from roof tops, distributed food, medicine blankets and mosquito nets and delivered seed grain and even seedlings to be planted as soon as the waters subsided.

There were food shortages—and people are still on short rations, but there were no deaths, no famine and no disease. The economic effects were disastrous, but the demonstration of a government that cared was enormous.

A byproduct of the mutual aid and enormous efforts to normalize life as rapidly as possible was a speedup in the campaign to form cooperatives in the rice-rich Mekong Delta and thus get irrigation, flood-control works and production on a more rational basis.



Education Minister Nguyen Thi Binh photographed last December by Burchett.

RALPH

WHAT'VE YOU WON? FOR US LATELY?

By Barbara Raskin

No longer at the center
of citizens action,
Nader seeks ways
to win back his
summer soldiers.



Berry Krug

THE STORY IS FAMILIAR. When Ralph Nader was young and came home from school to the pleasant house in Winsted, Conn., where he grew up with his parents, a brother and two sisters, his Lebanese immigrant father would ask him, "Well, what did you do in school today? Believe or think?"

Young Nader took that as his charge. He went on to Princeton, Harvard Law School and then came to Washington to noodge the government a little. He wrote a book about Corvairs, called "Unsafe at Any Speed," and discovered that General Motors had put a detective on his tail in hopes of discrediting him. Later Nader got a hug and kiss from Lyndon Johnson on the front lawn of the White House for being brave, independent and proving that the pen is mightier than the board (of General Motors).

The country went ape. It fell in love with the young man who had taken on a giant corporation and won.

Everyone knows that Nader's crusades have led to the tightening up of occupational health, safety and environmental standards. He has invented a nationwide group of consumer organizations called PIRGs (Public Interest Research Groups), cleaned up political campaign contributions, attacked the misuse of workers' pension funds, exposed cozy industry-federal regulatory agency relationships, blown the whistle on Pentagon cost overruns, attempted to protect government whistle blowers and was a key figure in the recall of flammable baby pajamas and Red Food Dye No. 2.

Nader is still promoting no-fault auto insurance, tax law reforms, air bags, alternative energy sources and safe working conditions everywhere—including the CIA headquarters out in Langley. Ralph Nader continues to act as an administrative assistant to the consumer of America—whether they like it or not. The flood of public interest materials in his office flows out across the country and brings back some 2000 written responses a week plus financial contributions totaling almost \$1 million a year (at an average of \$15 per person) to fund his various projects.

So why are all those people saying such awful things about Ralph Nader lately? Ten years ago, criticizing Nader would have been like bad-mouthing Abraham Lincoln, but nowadays saying snide things about Nader has become rather the thing to do. Indeed, increasingly it is asked in circles heretofore sympathetic whether Ralph Nader—who has been a national institution and a Washington monument for over a dozen years—is still, of all things, relevant.

The scenario goes something like this:

Nader suffers a few professional setbacks (the congressional defeat of his Consumer Protection Agency bill) displays his temper in public (the rebuke and requested resignation of his long-time friend Joan Claybrook, director of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration), launches what's seen as a loser of a project (FANS—Fight to Advance Nation's Sports), or publishes a lemon of a study (his Congressional Project's "Who Runs Congress?") and suddenly there's a spate of articles with headlines like "Is Nader Losing His Clout?" "Is Ralph Nader Obsolete?" and "Is Nader Fading?"

The word is out that he has alienated some members of the press and Congress who were once among his best friends. Several key congressional leaders feel Nader got too aggressive in his effort to pass a Consumer Protection Agency bill last year. They didn't like it when he went out to the districts of uncommitted liberal Democrats and criticized them in their home towns. They say he hasn't

adjusted to the times, that he has spread himself too thin.

In the front reception room of Ralph Nader's Public Citizen's office there are several attractive young workers in front of a huge yellow wooden object with cubby holes holding mail or messages, and mountains of papers. Only Charles Dickens could describe such a world of papers. There are bulging boxes, bundles, piles, stacks and packages of paper roped, strung, wired or banded together. There are storms and blizzards of newsletters, brochures, pamphlets, self-help materials, flyers, action manuals, handbooks, reprinted articles, studies and reports. Along one wall of the file-cabinet gray room is a smorgasbord of handouts that Nader surveys like the host at an embassy reception before selecting prize pamphlets for a visitor from his extensive, colorful buffet.

CYNICAL GUY

At 44, the Milky Way's most renowned consumer crusader says he is unconcerned by the attacks from quarters once believed friendly.

"It's chic being cynical these days," he says. "This town isn't used to power-holders taking any risks. People with power in Washington are afraid to try anything new because they might fail and be called a loser. People are always more excited by the prospect of new things than by actual production of on-going projects. After my original involvement in auto safety, I got involved in gas pipeline safety and even then people accused me of spreading myself too thin.

"Actually if the consumer movement does have a problem, it's the fact that it has no style. It's pure puritanical rationalism. But the stamina of a movement is characterized by its response to defeat. The last eight years have not been great, but I still get more financial contributions than the Democratic party."

The backlash against Nader after the defeat of the Consumer Protection Agency bill was swift and undeniable, but Mark Green, director of Congress Watch, a public citizen lobby group, says, "The loss was a great stimulation for us. It spurred us on. There's no doubt that Nader can still get on any local radio show in any congressional district that he wants. He's our stock in trade."

But there are some people who say Nader can no longer get on *Today*, *Tonight* or *Tomorrow*—that the media moguls have gotten tired of him and that this disaffection translates to waning interest and support for consumerism itself.

Nader disagrees. "The need for consumer protection is greater now than ever before and public support of consumer movement goals is as high—if not higher—than it's ever been. The state of the consumer movement is a relative thing. The Harris poll shows that the consumer movement has the most broad-based support of any issue in America today, but corporate opposition is more proficient now than it used to be. With all their dollar bills, the corporations are exerting a lot of lobbying power on Capitol Hill and escalating the challenge to consumers."

Jean Carper, an independent Washington writer who follows the consumer movement, summed up the scene like this: "The in-people of Washington may no longer see Ralph Nader as relevant, but the rest of the country still does. Indeed, it's more likely that the rest of the country sees Washington as irrelevant and Nader as important. The anti-government mood sweeping the country has strengthened and fortified citizen action groups everywhere. Nader was always dedicated to energizing the consumer movement

outside the capital and now that he has been successful in doing that, the harpies of Capitol Hill and Dupont Circle say that he's out of it. Wrong. We are.

"The action has shifted to real places like Milwaukee and New Hampshire. People are taking up utility rate increases and consumer-rights fights on their own. There are more and more initiatives on state ballots than ever before. Even big business has adopted some of Nader's methods and is fighting back by using the Environmental Impact Statement for their own purposes. The Chamber of Commerce, which lobbied for small businesses around the country, now even has its own public interest law firm for promoting small business interests."

Ex-Nader associates—like many exs—make bitter judgments about him. They say he's possessed, obsessed, driven and driving. They say he should have gone into politics, capitalized on his resources and popularity and run for the vice presidency with George McGovern in 1972. Others of his critics say he should have molded his national public citizens movement into a political organization with some real push—a mini-political party—instead of keeping it a non-partisan consumer-environmental lobby. They say that America's champion crusader has not pushed his power to its proper political conclusion. They blame him for not offering leadership to all those Americans who feel politically out-to-lunch these days.

Nader's ex-workers also complain about how hard it was working for him because he has a certain insensitivity to conventional habits and social mores. Apart from his disregard or disrespect for time, this single, singular man has other work traits associates found off-putting. Some complained about Nader's "paranoia," saying he breathes his plans like a lady playing gin rummy, hugging his strategies and keeping them secret from his associates. Others say he's a poor manager and does not allow enough staff independence—that he runs his entire operation as if he's the ignition interlock. They complain because Nader plays it safe personally, as well as professionally, and because he hates any public scrutiny of his private life. Indeed, there are some people who say he doesn't even have a private life. They suggest it's not by accident he's obsessed with issues of safety and that he hates hazards of all sorts—emotional as well as technological.

Others, of course, say otherwise.

Former Sen. James Abourezk, another leading Lebanese-American populist, is a good friend of Nader's. He says, "One has to overlook the petty attacks on him, and view what he's done, and is doing, in the context of the whole country. For the first time in the history of the U.S., a movement exists whose sole purpose is to try to keep large corporations and the government honest. The amazing thing is that because Ralph refused to allow himself to be politically isolated or discouraged, he remains extremely effective. The favorite establishment trick, going back over 2000 years, is to brand reformers and dissenters as radicals or heretics. Nader has refused to accept that and that is a landmark in political action."

PUBLIC CITIZEN

Probably more than many other public figures, the real Ralph Nader can only be found in his works. The only enthusiasms he has demonstrated or demonstrated now are in his programs.

The thing he most likes to talk about is harnessing the curious animal which he calls a "public citizen." A public citizen, to him, is one who cares enough to give his very best, to assume responsibility

for his own life and those of his fellow citizens, one who will confront, contest sue, study, boycott, monitor, lobby and protest until he finally slays the dragon breathing fire upon our nation.

"I've always been sustained by the opportunity to advance justice in this country. One of the pleasures of democracy is the chance to be an active citizen and a participant in the effort to improve our society." Pause. "More people should take advantage of this opportunity."

"There is a perceptible increase in local citizen activity all around the country. The Prop 13 movement was a citizen's action program. The right-to-lifers are a political party. Any single-issue campaign is an act of citizen mobilization. It's time for many more political parties," Nader says. "There should be a great proliferation of them—senior citizens, consumers. All kinds of single-issue groups should begin to see themselves as mini-political parties."

Nader's loose network of PIRGs illustrates this idea. PIRGs are supported by money raised through consumer check-offs on college campuses and voluntary contributions to local groups that intervene on behalf of the public. The New York state PIRG has a million dollars in its treasury and now there is a new national PIRG office in Washington. Although Nader seems to feel the national office should be strengthened, most PIRGs are quite independent and prefer working on local issues in their own states where they can accomplish more, more quickly.

Some PIRGs have ambivalent feelings toward Nader, having expected more financial, personal and professional help from him, but Nader always saw these groups as being independent and the time he devotes to this organization is spent trying to start new chapters where none exist.

"Because representative government doesn't work, we have to redefine and redirect the power of our citizens," he says. "We've begun to look around for places where we can establish training schools for citizen advocates. There are now enough experienced consumer and environmental campaign veterans to form faculties to teach techniques and tactics to incipient citizen activists. There is an enormous gap between formal education and what people really need to know," he explains.

Nader also wants significantly to enlarge the arena of his consumer check-off system so as to deal with legal monopolies such as gas, water, post offices, telephone and electric companies, which fall under federal or interstate contracts of adhesion. Consumers of insurance policies, installment loans, tenant leases, warranties and even taxing agencies (such as recipients of IRS 1040 forms) should have some input into these relationships.

"Oppressive institutions govern by de-personalizing themselves and establishing a double standard between the people and those with power. Consumers are the recipients of power, taxpayers the recipients of government, consumers the recipients of corporations. There has always been an emphasis on production rather than consumption. There has always been much talk about the tools of production, but little mention of the power of consumption in the fields of health, safety of economics."

What Nader plans to do is push consumer check-off system legislation through state legislatures so consumers will have the legal opportunity to allocate some percentage of their payments to support consumer advocates in these areas.

"Consumers who wish to participate in such projects would be able to receive technical assistance from lawyers, ac-

countants, economists, engineers, consultants and other specialists in each area. The check-off system would help correct the imbalance—or double standard—that currently exists between powerful companies and their customers. This is a long-range program. I'm prepared for a ten-year struggle."

POOLING DOLLARS

Another major program Nader will initiate in the 1980s is a project to promote utilization of the new National Consumer Cooperative Banks, established by Congress in August of 1978.

"Over the next five years, a billion dollars in loans to cooperatives will become available from the Co-op Bank. This kind of credit offers people a new opportunity to break up existing retail monopolies and to redistribute the wealth and economic power of America. U.S. consumers spend a trillion retail dollars every year and if some of that money went into cooperatively owned, operated and managed food stores, restaurants, recreational centers, housing construction, travel agencies, energy producing units, alternative communication systems, child-care centers, hardware stores, automotive repair shops, etc., etc., community redevelopment could take on a whole new meaning."

The cooperative concept has been around for a long time, but Nader intends to reinvigorate it by advertising the new credit which is becoming available. Loans for management training programs will also be provided so inexperienced consumers can learn the ropes of retail operations. Nader plans to create a new interest in cooperatives in a new vision of an alternative economic system. He wants to turn his army of consumers-fighting-corporations into aggressive competitors for the same market—themselves.

"If urban coops catch on, as rural ones once did, the face of retail America could, indeed, be lifted," Nader says.

His new push toward cooperative development programs presses at the outer edges of the U.S. economic system and fits in well with his current participation in the COIN (Consumers Opposed to Inflation in the Necessities) campaign. This is a large coalition of some 45 labor, consumer, environmental, senior citizen and minority groups promoting a progressive, positive economic program.

Gar Alperovitz, director of the Center for Economic Alternatives, says, "The consumer movement has never taken on the major economic-political issues of this country. Now Ralph Nader is participating in a movement supported by labor leaders like George Meany and Doug Fraser. Nader is a key figure in this new progressive attack upon an issue usually abandoned to the conservatives. Nader has now joined a common cause, with a highly diversified group of our society, against a common enemy—inflationary economics."

Nader's joining such a group is a departure from his previous, mostly separatist, activities and suggests that he might work with more people on more political economic issues in the future.

Others think so too. One of the Progressive Alliance founders believes that coalitions around single issues are no longer politically sufficient. He believes that what is necessary is the formulation of a politics that relates individual interests and issues into a coherent program going beyond the sum of its parts and allowing groups to see problems in new ways.

"This is the fundamental political task of the '80s," he says. And it is one Nader cannot help but have a central role in formulating. ■

EDITORIAL

The hardest steps remain to be taken

The impending peace treaty between Egypt and Israel is a welcome step toward Arab-Israeli reconciliation. President Carter's role in bringing the treaty to fruition is a major achievement in recent American diplomacy and deserves ungrudging approbation. The lessening of tensions between Egypt and Israel, the calming of national animosities, can contribute to new initiatives among the Middle Eastern peoples toward peaceful fulfillment of their legitimate national aspirations and their progress toward greater democracy and social and economic progress.

We say this fully aware of all the pitfalls, shortcomings, and ulterior motives embodied in and underlying the treaty.

The treaty is only the first, and probably the easiest, step toward peace and social justice in the Middle East. The hardest steps—toward Israeli-Palestinian rapprochement—are yet to follow. Nevertheless, it is a mark of the profound changes in Middle East and world politics that the step has been taken, and that what appeared just a few years ago to be impossible, is now the "easy" first step.

Recognition of Israel as a member of the family of Middle East nations by the largest Arab state, and mutual commitments to peaceful and cooperative relations between the two, has always been a basic Israeli goal. Israel has always held it to be a major precondition for adjustment of its relations with its Palestinian Arab neighbors. That precondition now about to be met, Israel will have a greater opportunity—and responsibility—to cooperate directly with the Palestinians in achieving their legitimate claims to national self-determination.

Israeli recognition of the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people, and its recognition of Palestinian statehood, may seem impossible now, just as an Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty seemed impossible before. But it will have to be among the next steps.

The PLO, for its part, will have to reassess and change its strategy and policies if it is to achieve statehood and genuine independence for its people, rather than functioning as the pawn of other nations' shifting objectives. The PLO will have to stop calling for the destruction of Israel and indulging in such fantasies as a holy war in alliance with Islamic Iran against Israel. That way holds only false hopes and armed camps that must keep the Middle East prey to the manipulations of power politics and keep the Palestinians in a continuing condition of dependency and statelessness. The PLO will have to recognize Israel in word and in fact; it will have to recognize Israeli national aspirations to be as legitimate as its own.

The accords auxiliary to the treaty dealing with the West Bank and Gaza essentially continue Israeli colonial domination over the Palestinians. The Palestinians—and the PLO—are entirely right in rejecting and resisting those accords. Israel would do the same if applied to it, and indeed fought against similar status being imposed upon it by Britain and Arab states in the past. There is evidence that many Israelis understand this. They know that colonial domination of Palestinians must be a source of endless conflict, ugly national hatreds, and of a betrayal of Israel's own best traditions of democracy, national self-determination, and social justice.

There is every incentive for the PLO and enlightened Israelis now to resume making contact and working together for a reconciliation based on the shar-



ing of Palestine by the Israeli state and a Palestinian state.

Israel's security depends on enduring friendship with its Arab neighbors, which is impossible without the just settlement of its relations with the Palestinians.

This is all the more true in the new era of world politics now opening up. No superpower can be relied on anymore to guarantee the security or progress of any nation in the Middle East—neither the U.S. nor the Soviet Union. Only peace and social justice brought about by the Middle Eastern peoples and states themselves can offer such a guarantee. A recognition of that, in fact underlies the breakthrough to the treaty.

U.S. policy is still far from absorbing the implications of the new era. No more than in the case of Iran, will massive arms transfers to Egypt and Israel produce a "policeman" guarding security in the Middle East. The best guarantee of a secure peace, as well as the western and Japanese interest in Middle Eastern oil, is for the U.S. to befriend the democratic forces there and aid the Middle Eastern nations in programs for economic and social progress, not in programs for armaments and war.

The Soviet Union, too, though frozen out of the treaty negotiations, can make a major contribution to peace and justice in the Middle East by refusing to encourage national hatreds against

Israel, even while supporting the just national aspirations of the Palestinians. It can seek agreement with the U.S. to cooperate in influencing Israel and a Palestinian state, when established, to refrain from armed threats or assaults against one another and to establish instead friendly and cooperative relations.

Progress toward peace in the Middle East opens the possibilities for Israeli and Arab socialists joining in replacing national animosities with common efforts at building a Middle East commonwealth of democratic socialist societies. That perhaps is the hardest step yet to be taken in the Middle East, and it is worthy of the courage, intelligence, and highest ideals of the Israeli and Arab peoples. ■

Kucinich & Byrne: Tale of two cities

In a time of deep political change, such as the present in the U.S., public debate bristles with a candor rare in "normal" times. The balloting in Cleveland and the local primary elections in Chicago (ITT, March 7) marked one more occasion for candid statements of views by representatives of established political power.

Two Sundays before the Feb. 27 polling in the two Midwestern cities, the *Chicago Tribune* (Feb. 18) editorialized on "City Hall and Big Business." It let the cat of corporate power (the reality of class rule) out of the bag of formal democracy. It can only be presumed that the *Tribune* did so from fear, if not panic, that the Lake Michigan "London" might go the way of the Lake Erie "Paris."

In the *Tribune's* tale of two cities Cleveland's woes stem from "maverick" Mayor Dennis Kucinich's "anti-business platform reminiscent of old-style populism" that champions the elected city government against "Corporate Cleveland," the "shadow government" of banks, utilities, oil and steel companies accustomed (in Kucinich's words) to "dictating our political decisions."

In contrast, intoned the editorial, Chicago's strength stems from the fact that its "city government under the Kelly-Daley-Bilandic dynasty...has grasped the importance of working with business." For, "without big business there would be no big cities. Business is what created our cities and brought people into them. It is what keeps a city alive."

Historians might remind the *Tribune's* editors that there were big cities in the U.S.

before there was big business, and that a large body of scholarship supports exactly the opposite conclusion—that big cities created big business. There are even whole countries today with big cities that "work" better than Chicago, but where big business doesn't exist. Sociologists and urban specialists might point out that big business investment behavior, especially in the northeast and midwest, is what has sapped the life blood of the cities—jobs, housing, mass transit, good public schools, recreation areas, and health care.

But leaving aside the special pleading masquerading as learned probity, the *Tribune's* editorial went to the heart of the matter. It says, without much translation, that though the people may vote, big business expects to rule; that big business prefers dynastic to popular government.

The only thing the *Tribune* left explicitly unsaid was that what's good for democracy is bad for big business.

In supporting their "populist" mayor, the people of Cleveland exhibit an alarming tendency to value democracy over big business priorities; they are so woe-begotten as to believe that it is precisely the kind of city big business has "created" for them that they don't like. In forming a solid united front for Bilandic's "dynasty" and issuing dire warnings of municipal collapse if the people voted the dynasty out, Chicago's Lords Corporate, like their Cleveland counterparts, sent the people a message: either vote our way or face economic ruin. But that message clearly implies another one: concentrated private investment power is a clear

and present danger to a city's economic health and political democracy.

Whatever Jane Byrne's true intentions and future record, she found it good politics to criticize the cozy city hall-big business relationship in Chicago, to attack high utility and telephone rates, to suggest the connection between big business priorities and neighborhood deterioration, and to appeal to black and white working people to unite around common "economic" interests. She assumed that the larger the voter turnout the better politics "populism" would be. She didn't buy the conventional wisdom that the people are "conservative" in the sense of being in love with big business.

Byrne beat the "dynasty" with an electoral coalition of blacks, working class whites, and liberal and progressive professionals. Shades of Cleveland.

However different Chicago and Cleveland may otherwise be, they both suffer from the common conflict between municipal democracy and corporate power. Given a strong choice, as in Cleveland, or even the suggestion of a choice, as in Chicago, the people in each city voted against the unified advice and dire warnings of the Lords Corporate.

The *Tribune* concluded its editorial by saying, "If this editorial should happen to appear near our endorsement of Mr. Bilandic..., it won't be wholly a coincidence." No, indeed. But neither are the emerging similarities in voter behavior in the "Paris" on Lake Erie and the "London" on Lake Michigan. ■

LETTERS

SPURIOUS, FURIOUS

I AM FURIOUS THAT YOU DEVOTED half a page to Elizabeth Moore's spurious arguments about abortion and the poor (*ITT*, Feb. 28). Feminists and pro-choice advocates have enough trouble from the right in this country without having to defend themselves in a supposedly "independent socialist" newspaper. I am considering whether or not I should continue to support with my subscription a paper which furnishes a forum for anti-abortionists who are attacking one of my most basic rights in the guise of helping the poor.

I am a middle-class, middle-aged white woman. If I were to become pregnant for any reason—rape, contraceptive failure or pure carelessness—I would not want another child. I want the freedom to choose a safe, legal abortion. I fail to see how anyone can believe it is doing poor women a favor to deny them the same choice.

Incidentally, I have never heard a feminist argue that it is better to be dead than poor, as Ms. Moore asserts.

—Frances Perry
Bowling Green, Ohio

ABORTION AND THE POOR

IN THE ABORTION DEBATE (*ITT*, FEB. 28), Karen Mulhauser, in several places shows her lack of real knowledge of poverty. That poor women resort to abortion does not mean they find abortion desirable, just as the disproportionate numbers of black and poor men in Vietnam did not mean that black and poor men wanted to die in battle. Abortion is a symbol of desperation. This is "free choice"? So is giving my money to the guy with the gun at my head.

Of course Oregon voted to spend taxes on abortion. It's cheaper. The campaign in favor openly stressed the higher cost of pre-natal care. This is concern for the poor? (Not only are the poor victimized by abortion, they're even expected to be grateful. "We won't get rid of your rats, but we'll give you an abortion because we care about you.")

Also, although each abortion is cheaper than each delivery, abortions take less of a doctor's time. He makes his money by volume. Has Mulhauser remained ignorant of the Chicago scandal?

The pro-abortion movement has traditionally been alienated from the concerns of the poor. Mulhauser's column again reveals what poor women have always known.

—Pam Slegfried
Anchorage, Alaska

HARRINGTON AND THE WAR

I NOTED WITH INTEREST YOUR FEB. 28 article on the convention of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). I see that DSOC is doing good things, among them introducing socialist concepts in parts of the American political arena where they have never before been debated.

However, in that article, John Judis asserted that DSOC was "founded in 1973 when Michael Harrington led the anti-war faction out of the old Socialist Party..." This is not accurate, but it's not hard to see how Judis could have made that mistake, since that part of the history of the American Socialist party is not well known.

The fact of the matter is that Harrington consistently opposed resolutions calling for unconditional withdrawal from Vietnam, when they were offered by the real anti-war faction in the old SP, the

Debs Caucus. Harrington's faction, known as the Realignment Caucus and headed by Max Shachtman, merely called for "negotiations now" over Vietnam. (Harrington later had his own faction in the SP, the Coalition Caucus—which eventually became DSOC—but it, too, never demanded American withdrawal from Vietnam.)

It is unfortunate that Harrington has not yet come to grips with this aspect of his political past. Nonetheless, the Debs Caucus (which in 1973 reconstituted the Socialist Party, USA), not Harrington's group in the old SP, demanded U.S. withdrawal from the senseless and genocidal war in Vietnam.

—Kenrick G. Kissell
National Secretary
Socialist Party, U.S.A.

BACKGROUND

I WOULD JUST LIKE TO SAY HOW pleased I am with *IN THESE TIMES*. So many of the articles give one a background on current events that cannot be gotten elsewhere.

I particularly enjoyed Jo Freeman's articles on the firing of Bella Abzug, and on the right to choose. The articles provided the opportunity to read the views of those who are usually ignored by news organs in addition to providing broader coverage of the events themselves.

—Cynthia E. Harrison
McLean, Va.

WHERE THE LEFT IS AT

YOUR EDITORIAL BACKING WAGE-price-income controls (*ITT*, Mar. 6) hit the bull's eye.

George Meany and the AFL-CIO, for whatever reasons, have given socialists a magnificent opening to promote democratic control of the decisions that shape our lives and, at the same time, do something effective about inflation.

The DSOC convention considered such a proposal, but due to faulty wording referred it to the National Board. Let's hope the Board follows your suggestion to pick up the ball and run with it.

Your opening of the debate page to an anti-abortionist indicates an understanding that this is a more complex issue than most socialists appreciate.

Granted you tilted the question a little against her, but even so. Discussion of other questions might also help:

A. When people speak of "the woman's inviolable right to choose an abortion," do they mean it literally, i.e., right up to the moment of birth?

B. If so, doesn't this go far beyond the Supreme Court decision or anything a majority of Americans would be likely to approve?

C. If it is unfair to deprive poor women of free abortions, isn't it also unfair to use the taxes of a large number of Americans to fund what they regard as homicide?

D. Why couldn't these countervailing unfairnesses be resolved by the private funding of free clinics or a voluntary contribution added by pro-abortionists to their income taxes?

—John C. Cort
Nahant, Mass.

WAITING FOR RIGHTY

IN RESPONSE TO YOUR "WAITING FOR Teddy" (*ITT*, Mar. 7), I commend your criticism/self-criticism which most left papers are too frightened to engage in.

—Glenn Gidaly
New Britain, Conn.

INTERVIEWING THE CIA

IT WAS DISAPPOINTING TO SEE *ITT* print such a contrived interview with former CIA officer in Iran, J.J. Leaf, conducted by Nico Haasbrook (*ITT*, Feb. 21). This kind of article is not deserving of a socialist paper and its readers. The question to be concerned about, in my opinion, is the very presence of CIA operatives such as Leaf in Iran. Any attempt to expose the CIA by showing how the agency refused to pay attention to J.J.'s reports belongs to the so-called liberal papers such as the *New Republic* and the like.

What if the CIA had paid attention to Leaf's reports, wouldn't that mean that at best they would have attempted to diffuse the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people to overthrow the Shah and to curtail the U.S. influence in Iran? To claim that the CIA should have listened to Leaf's report on the Iranian situation misses the point completely. The CIA and the U.S. policy makers did all that they could to defeat the Iranians' struggle.

Leaf's contention that "the peasants did not know what to do with the land given them by the Shah so they sold it back to their former landlords" is ridiculous. The great majority of peasants did not get land from the Shah. Those who did had to sell it back because they were not given the necessary tools (seeds, water, etc.) to cultivate it but had to pay government loans.

Leaf's contention that the Shah was interested in economic and military development is also rubbish. The Shah did not develop the economy or the military, he simply put both the economy and the military in the hands of imperialist interests.

—Jahan Parvaz
Philadelphia

ANTI-GERMAN BIAS

I AM NOT THE FIRST TO COMPLAIN about Diana Johnstone's anti-German bias, but it continues unabated. In an otherwise excellent story on the abortive try by German steelworkers for a 35-hour week, her amateurish etymology of *Arbeitnehmer* and *Arbeitgeber* (employee, employer) sticks out like a sore thumb. German is no less and no more expressive of conservative capitalist ideology than English, French or Italian. The two words are highly technical and are rarely found in everyday spoken German (*Umgangssprache*) much less the press. Germans do not break a word into its component root words. Just as they don't think of the word for thumb, *Fingerhut*, as the hat for the finger, they don't reduce *Arbeitnehmer* to one who takes work. The correct translation for worker is simply *die Arbeiter*, the word most frequently used by Germans in speech as well as in written pieces. German workers do not refer to their boss as *die Arbeitgeber*; instead try *der Chef*, *der Besitzer*, *der Direktor*, which can be inflected to convey as much hostility as in English, French and Italian.

Most Americans would not quarrel with the notion that bosses dispense work, even if Socialists do. After all we read in the press daily how corporations provide the jobs, and not about workers providing their labor.

—Claude Cazzulino
Madison, N.J.

VIETNAM CHEERLEADER

WILFRED BURCHETT SEEMS MORE like a cheerleader than a reporter (*ITT*, Feb. 28). No doubt he will soon be retailing Hanoi's P.R. handouts about great victories over the aggressors and gains in Chinese casualties. It is depressing how many socialists have eagerly applied a double-standard to the recent invasion of neighboring states

conducted by Vietnamese and Chinese armies.

It is as if their victory over the evil green berets has conferred on the Vietnamese an imperishable heroic aura and they can henceforth do no wrong. Nevertheless, a few points have to be made: (1) If, as Burchett suggests, the Chinese incursion is more closely related to events of the Tang Dynasty and 1000 years of Chinese imperialism than to Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea and alliance with Russia, then the same "historical" analysis should be applicable to the Vietnamese-Kampuchean conflict.

Ever since the decline of the Khmer Empire Cambodia has been a target for Vietnamese aggression and there is longstanding enmity between the two peoples.

(2) Perhaps China *does* hanker after a Southeast Asian hegemony, but Vietnam has also demonstrated expansionist tendencies. Laos is now a sort of Vietnamese protectorate and a puppet government has been installed in Phnom Penh. At the very least, Vietnam insists upon dominating "Indochina" and will not tolerate a hostile Indochinese state allied to a hostile China.

(3) Perhaps the Hanoi regime is *less* brutal or vicious than Pol Pot's administration, but then the latter government may look benevolent in comparison with Attila the Hun. In fact, "socialist" Vietnam is a fiercely oppressive state, as the "boat people" will testify.

Socialists have rightfully criticized China for years. How long is Vietnam to be sacrosanct by virtue of its great victory over John Wayne?

—Thomas Robbins
New York

DON'T ROCK THE BOAT, BABY

JOHN JUDIS' COLUMN ON A CONSTITUTIONAL convention (*ITT*, Mar. 7) is shocking. He talks about popular democracy, but fails to mention that over 60 percent of the electorate didn't vote in 1978, and fails to recognize that Gordon Humphrey and Roger Jepson were elected to the Senate not because the right is so strong, but because the votes in both New Hampshire and Iowa were very low and the supporters of Clark and McIntyre did not go to the polls.

There is no precedent or established procedure for a constitutional convention; who would be the delegates to such a convention and how would they be selected? Would they represent the 60 percent of the non-voting electorate?

Rather than offering labor, minorities and feminists a chance to present their cases to the American people, such a convention might be dominated by anti-abortionists, neo-conservatives and others who don't like the restraints of the present Constitution, which has been gradually amended in the interests of justice over the last 200 years.

Let's not advocate anything that might undermine the Constitution. Our society has many injustices and frequently does not respond to the needs of the people as a whole, but a constitutional convention is no way to improve the situation.

—Henriette S. Shipper
New York

ON THE MOVE?

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ROBERTA LYNCH

Chicago's elections: 'The City That Works' is also starting to think

IT WASN'T A REVOLUTION.

It may not even be a true changing of the guard: when the dust settles Chicago could still be Machine City and Jane Byrne another poor impersonation of Mayor Daley. ¶But in a way the issue of what deals are made and with whom doesn't seem so important right now. What is important is that the pieces can never fall simply back into place.

Because it was a revolt. It was 412,000 people who were willing to risk favors, friendships, and even jobs to say they'd had enough and who pulled the "wrong" lever, some of them for the first time ever.

They say this election was all about the snow. And, of course, it was. But every revolt has a catalyst—and it is seldom the issue that *seems* the most serious.

What's on the surface is not all there is, though. Partly it's a question of expectations. No matter how bad the status quo may be, it always has on its side the weight of necessity. By its very nature, it smother serious opposition. It insists that even the worst is as it must be.

So it takes a break in the status quo to suggest new possibilities. The failure of the familiar demonstrates that things can be otherwise than they are. Hardly anyone will move until there seems some place to go.



What the catalyst is doesn't really matter a lot. In my book, snow is as good as others that have sparked far more dramatic historical turns.

Chicago is a city immense in its wealth and its decay. A city with a machine for a heart. A city built on trade—the deals big and small that keep it running.

It doesn't promise subtlety. It is a naked city. Its ploys and plans are outfront. Its exercise of power requires no kid gloves.

It doesn't promise honesty. Corruption, if not explicitly condoned, rarely provokes outrage. You grow up with it; it grows on you. Chicago doesn't shock easily.

It doesn't promise responsive government. It does what needs to be done. It could run over the protesters in the streets in '68. Or it could offer blacks a small share of the patronage pie. It can even concede on some scores, only to back

off later when the heat's off. Chicago knows all the tricks.

Chicago has only one real promise: it is said to be the city that works. It doesn't guarantee clean government, but it does guarantee clean streets.

It took the snow visibly and dramatically to shatter that myth. Not that most people didn't already know that even at the level of basic services, the city didn't work for them. But it's been too fragmented. Each person thinking it's only me (or my community). Each person feeling powerless to change it.

The snow was everyone's problem. It universalized the city's inadequacies. Everyone suffered and everyone saw it. I don't think it's too much of an exaggeration to say that the snow was a symbol—of the unequal treatment of black neighborhoods, of the silent abandonment of older ethnic areas, of the domination over city workers, of the overall arrogance of power.

The snow and Jane Byrne—a chink in the armor, an unlikely white knight. That's what it took to arouse a deep discontent, to make a small piece of history.

Some people will say that too much is being made of all this. That elections don't matter; they don't really change things. But that misses the point. Elections don't change things; people do. But elections are an indication of the mind and will of the people. They may not be the best in a society so dominated by money and media manipulation, but they're one of the few that we have.

I'm one of those who'd prefer to have other proofs, other signs. To see people packed into community meetings to insure that they have a voice in the distribution of community development funds. To see busloads of senior citizens heading to city hall when their recreation programs get cut. To see people picketing for more and better jobs.

But I'm dubious that you can get significant numbers of people to go to such lengths as long as you can't get them to move their fingers from one voting lever to another. As a means of profound social change, the vote is insufficient. As a

part of that process, it is essential.

This vote was unusual, not just because it broke with such a long tradition, but because people had to do it largely on their own. Nobody big was for Byrne. She wasn't just portrayed as a long shot, she was portrayed as a no shot. It was the casual conversations in bars, street corners and laundromats that began to evoke a collective sense of possibilities. You heard it on the bus, "Hey man, I'm for Byrne." And then your kid came home from school: "Pat's mother's for Byrne." And pretty soon you didn't feel so crazy for thinking you just might throw your vote away on the lady yourself.

People beginning to think for themselves. It's only a small step—but it comes on the heels of a pretty dry decade. And it may not be unique to Chicago. The machinations may be cruder here, but the end results aren't too different from those in cities across the country. It is those results—the deterioration of urban life—that are the core of the problem.

Philadelphia mayor Frank Rizzo was blocked last November from seeking a third term through a two-to-one defeat of his proposed amendment to the city's charter. As in the Chicago election, the role of the black community was central to the outcome.

In Cleveland, Mayor Dennis Kucinich's stand against the city's corporate powers was supported by over 60 percent of the electorate in a popular referendum.

On a smaller but equally heartening scale, two socialists headed the field of 19 candidates in the recent city council election in Santa Cruz, Cal.

I don't know yet whether these pieces fit together into some new picture. Looking at Chicago, I doubt a big change soon in the city's seats of power. But whatever Jane Byrne does when she takes her hand off that Bible, things won't ever be quite the same around here. Basically, there's been a change in how people think about themselves—and that's the one to watch.

Roberta Lynch is a national officer of the New American Movement, a democratic socialist organization.

STAUGHTON LYND

LABOR AND THE LAW

Investment for whom? Steelworkers fight to save 'our steel mill'

WHETHER BY COLLECTIVE bargaining, by legislation, by direct action, or by a combination of all three, working people must seek a voice in the control of investment decisions. The ongoing struggle over steel shutdowns in Ohio will justify itself, whatever the outcome, if it succeeds in driving home this lesson to American labor. ¶One fundamental issue is where will new investment occur: in the U.S. or overseas, in the North or the South, in existing communities or in new sites?

Whether or not a socialist society would decide further to modernize the steel industry at the expense of jobs, in a capitalist economy it is a given that American steelmakers will make massive new investments to compete more effectively with Europeans and Japanese.

There are two ways to do this, each of which involves massive spending by the federal government. One is the "greenfield" approach that the American industry is pursuing. In this scenario, when steel facilities in a particular community become obsolete, industry abandons the community and rebuilds from the ground up in a rural setting.



The paradigm is the new mill which United States Steel proposes in Conneaut, Ohio, 75 miles north of Youngstown on the shore of Lake Erie. The venture would despoil a huge area: Welsh's Grape Juice is said to oppose it because sulphur dioxide would destroy the grape vineyards from the Pennsylvania state line, just east of Conneaut, north to Buffalo, N.Y.

A "brownfield" approach would rebuild the industry in communities where steelworkers already live. It would utilize a comparable amount of capital and, its adherents contend, achieve great conservation of "social capital." Social capital is a tangible item in a setting such as Youngstown where three generations of a family live in driving distance of each other. Former Secretary of the Interior

Udall has supported a brownfield approach for northeastern Ohio.

The greenfield-brownfield debate seems to me precisely analogous to the urban renewal debate of the late 1950s and 1960s. At that time urban development was understood to require the bulldozing of inner-city sites several blocks in size, relocating the entire population, and building everything new.

Some of us then argued that this approach unnecessarily squandered social capital, or to say it more simply, people. We said that a neighborhood could be rebuilt without evicting its residents.

Development could begin on the portion of the site where population was least dense (parking lots, warehouses); new residences could be built there and people could move the few blocks from their present homes; the denser areas could be modernized while preserving the churches, settlement houses, meeting places (e.g., Cooper Union on New York's Lower East Side) that hold a neighborhood together.

A brownfield approach to urban renewal has now become an orthodox view. The same will be true 15 years from now as to the preferred manner of industrial modernization. It would be a shame if a generation of working people and their communities had to be sacrificed while industry catches up with the world in its thinking as well as its machines.

The first shutdown in Youngstown was the Sheet and Tube Campbell Works, Sept. 19, 1977, abruptly throwing 5000 employees out of work.

Now another 1200 jobs are in jeopardy at the Brier Hill Works. Jones & Laughlin, which has absorbed Sheet and Tube by merger, intends to shut down Brier Hill by the end of 1979.

In the case of the Brier Hill Works, the company has provided a bastardized form of advance notice. In February 1978, J&L's chief executive informed Youngstown community leaders (but not the Brier Hill local union) that Brier Hill might be closed if the merger went through. The local union requested a meeting to dis-

cuss the matter, which was denied.

In October 1978, Lykes and LTV sent a joint prospectus to their shareholders (but not to the Brier Hill local union) which stated that Brier Hill would definitely be shut down by the end of 1979. The Brier Hill local again requested a meeting, which again was denied. Finally, on Dec. 4, 1978, J&L told the officers of the local union that their mill would be shut down.

Four hundred members of the local attended a mass meeting the next night. They decided to mount informational picket lines, and to demand an immediate meeting with the company to discuss alternatives to a shutdown.

The local drafted a statement to be presented to management. The statement notified management that the local had "started preparations to alter your plans, change your decision and save our jobs."

The decision to shut down Brier Hill, the statement continued, "was made, in perhaps a typical, nonchalant manner in some corporate board room, far removed from the scene of the crime. In the age of the multinationals and conglomerates, it seems like business as usual. We simply cannot tolerate such cruel and inhuman actions. The people responsible for these decisions escape accountability. It's time that changes."

To give the workers time to develop plans (including worker-community ownership) to keep Brier Hill open, the statement concluded, "We are asking you to extend the timetable for shutting down our steel mill."

Local union president Ed Mann noted the phrase "our steel mill" with a chuckle during one of the many times he read this statement to officers and grievance committeemen, international union representatives, the company, and the press. The company having no further use for the facility, why not, indeed, think of the Brier Hill facility as "our steel mill"?

Staughton Lynd, a long-time civil rights and anti-war activist, practices law in Youngstown, Ohio. Readers interested in corresponding with Lynd can write him at 1694 Timbers Ct., Niles, OH 44446.

PERSPECTIVES

Pope seen as backing Puebla's leftward course for Latin church

AT THEIR MEETING LAST MONTH IN PUEBLA, MEXICO, THE Latin American Catholic bishops reaffirmed their church's moderately radicalizing course. This is the conclusion of left observers, present for the Third General Conference of Latin American Bishops, and of longtime analysts of the Latin American church. Surprisingly, this reaffirmation occurred despite strong conservative lobbying. Conservatives had worked to stack the deck against the progressives at Puebla.

They had hoped to turn the Latin American church away from its prophetic social thrust, which received official recognition at a similar 1968 meeting in Medellin, Colombia.

In reaction the conservatives reportedly constructed a counter-offensive centered with Colombian Archbishop Alfonso Lopez Trujillo, drawing on the brains of Jesuit Roger Vekemans and the money of Germany's Bishop Hengsbach, and linked to Rome through Cardinal Baggio of the Vatican. According to Penny Lernoux of the *National Catholic Reporter*, of the 356 delegates, 169 were hand-picked by Archbishop Lopez, although some question his power to have done so given the complexity of the Latin American hierarchies. In any case, his defeat came in part from bishops who were not perceived as radical.

A providential accident apparently helped trigger the conservative defeat, although some felt it was clear months before that strong progressive hierarchies would come out on top. Lopez gave what he thought was an empty tape cassette to a reporter interviewing him, and on the reporter's own cassette ran out. The tape contained a long letter outlining the conservative scheme and insulting the respected Cardinal Eduardo Pironio of Argentina, Jesuit Superior General Pedro Arrupe, and the Latin American Confederation of Religions (representing 160,000 members of religious orders). The letter, which soon appeared in the Mexican daily *El Mercurio*, discredited Lopez in the eyes of the moderate bishops. Lopez did not deny authoring the letter.

A second factor was the subsequent clarification of the Pope's message delivered during his visit to Mexico. While

much of the press misinterpreted the Pope's words as a condemnation of the Church's new thrust, the bishops were undoubtedly more sophisticated in picking up the fine points. But perhaps to make sure, the Pope on the plane back to Rome told reporters he did not condemn the Theology of Liberation. Rather than endorsing either side, he shifted the ground—inviting the left-leaning Liberation Theologians to consider the evangelical foundation of their theology and the conservatives to consider the social consequences of theirs.

Later in a public address in Rome, Pope John Paul II pointedly endorsed a Theology of Liberation and even asked that it achieve a "universal radius," giving it global stature.

One further reason for this endorsement may have been that the Polish Communist press also misinterpreted his words and announced the Church was moving away from politics and the social arena. This probably delighted Polish president Gierk, since the Polish Catholic Church

is the national rallying point for popular discontent and for defense of protesting workers and dissident intellectuals. In fact, the Pope's earlier role in Poland, as Archbishop of Krakow, was similar to that of progressive bishops in Latin America.

A third factor in the reaffirmation was the role of the liberation theologians themselves. Excluded by Lopez' maneuverings from the official conference, the liberation theologians gathered in a parallel mini-Puebla. Some reporters interpreted this as a counter-meeting, but actually it served as a supplementary forum for many of the bishop delegates from the larger meeting. The radical theologians in turn worked as personal, if unofficial, advisers to any number of bishop-delegates. They were especially close to leaders of the Brazilian church. Their contributions proved intellectually more powerful and pastorally more convincing than the conservative offensive. The leading spokesperson for this group was the world renowned Peruvian theologian, Gustavo Gutierrez, author of the seminal work, *A Theology of Liberation*.

But most important, the bishops could not help but recognize in grass roots stirrings a new form of Christianity coming from the bottom up. This new form is expressed in small groupings of the poor called Basic Christian Communities. Over 100,000 such groups function in the Latin American church, the majority in Brazil where much of the hierarchy has given pastoral priority to their formation and support. This pastoral priority is part of a long-range strategy to reshape the church and transform society. Leaders from these groups recently played major roles in the recent general strike of 200,000 industrial workers in the Sao Paulo area.

The final document of the Puebla conference runs some 250 pages and contains the fruit of 21 commissions. It will undoubtedly become one of the milestone documents of modern Catholicism. The document itself is uneven, reflecting the views of various factions, but its overall thrust is progressive. That progressive thrust is highlighted in the introductory

section entitled "Message to the People of Latin America."

The "Message" recognizes a new period in the Church's life and asks forgiveness of God and humanity for failing to live what the Gospel proclaims. The bishops then ask what they can contribute to the new era. They do not see themselves as masters of social, economic, or political problems, but they still dare to speak to these areas as "interpreters of our peoples, agents of their aspirations, especially the most humble, the overwhelming majority of Latin America." They invite all people of good will to join in the self-sacrificing construction of a "civilization of love" in which justice is a "sacred right of all people." Becoming more specific, they speak on behalf of the many Latin American exiles, endorse the integration of Latin America, denounce its satellite dependence on outside nations, and condemn the arms race which "confuses national defense with ambition for illicit profits."

The Puebla meeting reaffirms the thrust begun at Medellin, this time with broader support from the moderates.

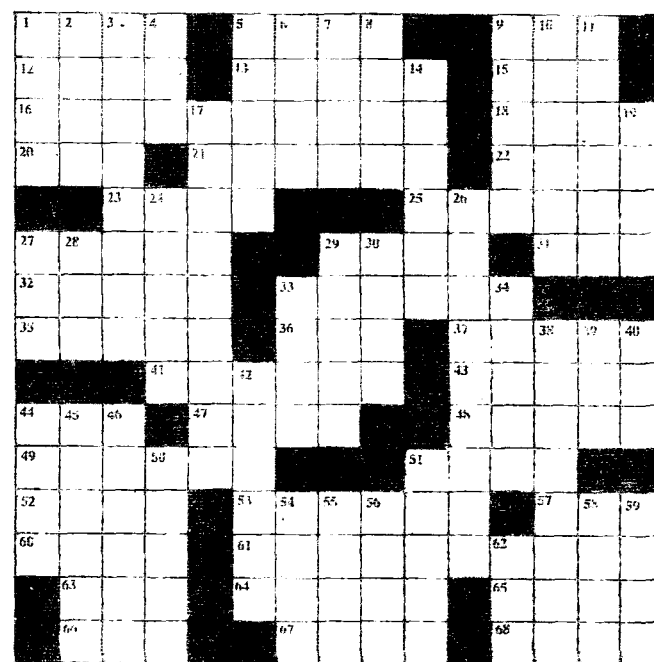
The vitality of the Latin American church is a shock for secular humanism, but the world's ancient spiritual traditions may still have much to say about the humanistic shaping of society in the crisis of the late 20th century. Eighteen million people, mainly poor, turned out to see the Pope and the Puebla meeting caught the attention of all the world. One thinks also of recent events in Iran and the resurgence of the Islamic tradition.

Perhaps it was these double shocks that allegedly led President Carter to direct his CIA to intensify its surveillance of the Latin American Church. This directive, supposedly leaked from closed hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was reported in Mexico City's *Excelsior*.

This is the last in a series of three articles. Joe Holland is an associate of the Center of Concern, a Catholic policy study institute, Washington, D.C. He is a member of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC).

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- 24 "me" says 18 Across; said 51 Across
- 26 Thursday on E. Day
- 27 Where Mrs. and Mrs. meet
- 28 Intimate French pronoun
- 29 Start
- 30 Hebrew measure
- 33 Fraternal organization
- 34 Bombed by 61 Across
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- 44 Cleopatra's killer, *et al.*
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- 50 Sleeveless garments
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Californians

by David Mermelstein

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- 59 Barely makes a living (with out)
- 62 Police blotter initials

Solution to last week's puzzle.

N	O	M	A	D	A	B	R	A	D	E
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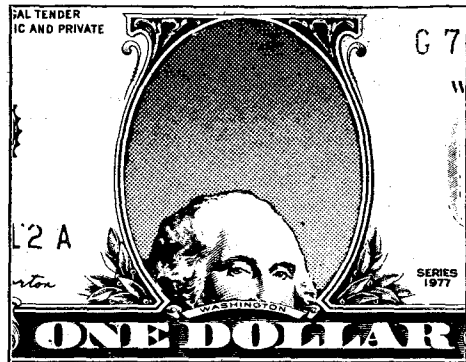
HARRY BRILL

Carter's strong program for shifting income and prices upward

IF PROFESSIONAL ECONOMISTS had paid more attention to official economic indicators than to political signals from Washington, their predictions of hard times ahead would have come earlier. Among the warning signs, the Department of Commerce business cycle statistics had been turning pale. One of the indices, which is a composite of 12 different economic statistics, dropped in January 1978, and again in July. The composite index, which failed to predict the 1973-75 recession, generally tends to flatter the economy. So when it turns downward, there is reason for concern.

The precipitous declines in the stock market long before Nov. 1 is an especially ominous sign. It is a strong indication of the pessimistic economic outlook of the big investors, and portends cautious investment behavior. Also, an important indicator of business activity, the average number of hours worked has declined. The number of housing permits, which predicts future construction activity, has not recovered from its peak in November 1977. General GNP growth had been slowing, and in the first quarter of last year it actually declined.

These along with other danger signals were not entirely unnoticed. The National Bureau of Economic Research, which has developed many of the nation's basic economic measures, had predicted as early as



February 1978 that a full-scale recession may be ahead. Several other forecasters concurred, including economists at Merrill Lynch, who advise their investor clients.

Chief corporate executives, themselves, according to a quarterly survey conducted by the Conference Board, the business research organization, revealed that they began leaning toward a more pessimistic economic outlook a year before the Carter administration launched its anti-inflation program.

It is stretching one's credibility beyond elastic limits, then, to believe that the Carter administration was actually attempting to bring about a state of affairs that has been developing anyhow without government intervention. This is why the administration, with plenty of technical assistance from mainstream economists, has reinvented the myth of prosperity.

To make sense out of nonsense, we are being inundated with claims of how our economy is operating at almost peak levels. But the truth is that the economy

has not been so expansive; the economic pie is no longer growing by leaps and bounds, as in most of the '50s and '60s, when a higher standard of living for both the corporations and working people were not mutually exclusive.

The administration has taken the inflation issue and is using public support around this issue to promote the agenda of big business. Now that the economy is stagnant, the agenda is income redistribution—upward. G. William Miller's insistence that the U.S. "must adjust to a concept of slower growth and more austerity" is Madison Avenue prose for sacrificing the needs of most of us to the greed of the corporations and the rich.

The Carter program will certainly bring more austerity and slower growth, but not for the purpose of subduing inflation. Slower growth will result from redistributing income because it drains consumer purchasing power, which in turn reduces the incentive of business to produce and expand.

Consider the impact of higher interest rates. Bank profits climbed in 1978 by an almost incredible 30 percent. Able to charge their customers more, the banks have been paying higher interest rates for money they themselves borrow. So investors have been thriving, too. Meanwhile, the inflated interest rates work their way through the system until they eventually wind up as higher prices for goods and services. The effect is to reduce consumer purchasing power, which promotes slower growth, but at higher prices.

The criticism of the administration's anti-inflation program as either weak or ineffective is misguided. It is really a strong program; strongly pro-inflation. Not only are the commodities for which the majority of people spend most of their money—food, housing, fuel, and medical costs—exempt from the price guidelines, but the administration's policies have encouraged higher prices for all these expenditures.

Carter's proposed austerity budget includes about \$3 billion to agribusiness to maintain higher food prices. To induce shortages, farmers are paid to leave acreage unplanted. Regarding fuel, Carter's major accomplishment has been the enactment of the gas deregulation law. He wants to deregulate oil prices, too. In

housing, higher interest rates are boosting both mortgages and rents.

On medical costs, Carter has adamantly opposed a comprehensive medical health insurance program, including firm controls on medical fees. The poor, the aged, and large sections of the middle class will have to continue to carry the inflationary burden of high medical bills.

Consumers are also bearing the financial burden of Carter's restrictive trade policies. Foreign producers, under threat of penalties, are being forced to raise their minimum prices in the American market. This also encourages domestic producers to raise their prices, since they do not have to fear being undersold. Last year, anti-dumping regulations largely accounted for the ability of the domestic steel corporations to increase their prices over 9 percent, which in turn has raised the prices of numerous commodities, from toasters to automobiles.

Industrial raw materials are excluded from the price guidelines, although they are a significant source of inflation. As prices of these commodities climb, the big firms, which keep their cost data confidential, will continue to chisel, raising their prices beyond the actual costs to themselves.

The Council on Wage and Price Stability claims it will be monitoring the costs and prices of the big corporations. It is much more likely that official monitoring, by sanctioning corporate pricing practices, will legitimate rather than restrain higher prices and corporate earnings.

Since the administration's economic program is encouraging higher prices, its stringent wage guidelines are not anti-inflationary but are aimed to improve corporate profits. A frank statement of the purpose of the guidelines in a Dun and Bradstreet publication informs its business readers that not only are wages the "primary target" of Carter's income policy, its timing was indicated by the "perceived need to have policies in place before the critical 1979 bargaining round." If many people are confused about the intention of the wage-price guidelines, business certainly is not.

(This is second in a series on Carter's economic policies. The first appeared last week.) Harry Brill is professor of sociology at the University of Massachusetts, Boston.

BOOKS

Suffrage and the roots of modern U.S. feminism

By Ilene Philipson

FEMINISM AND SUFFRAGE: THE EMERGENCE OF AN INDEPENDENT WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN AMERICA, 1848-1869

by Ellen DuBois

Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y., 1978, 220 pp.

This book is less a history of how women won the vote than of how an independent feminist movement initially arose in the U.S.

Women's suffrage is often viewed as an isolated institutional reform, or it is dismissed by feminist historians as a misguided or useless episode in women's struggle for liberation.

DuBois takes a new approach to the subject. She does not concentrate on the failure of women's suffrage to end women's oppression. She sees the suffrage movement as the first in which women organized collectively and deliberately to win their own emancipation.

Learning to rely on themselves and discovering their own strengths led women to create the beginnings of a mass movement by the 1860s. It was involvement in the suffrage movement, "far more than the eventual enfranchisement of women, that created the basis for new social relations between men and women."

DuBois focuses on the period immediately following the Civil War. During the Reconstruction era, the suffrage struggle evolved into an autonomous women's movement. The issue of women's suffrage had developed out of the earlier abolitionist movement against slavery. Female abolitionists modeled their slowly emerg-

ing struggle for women's rights after the drive to liberate the black slave.

After emancipation, black suffrage became the primary goal of abolitionists, radical Republicans and reformers in general. The focus on black suffrage encouraged women's rights advocates increasingly to single out the vote as the sole path to their own emancipation.

But in the Reconstruction era, women's suffrage was subordinated to the fight to win the vote for black men. Although feminists attempted to make black and female suffrage equal and inseparable demands, the black suffrage movement, working largely through the Republican party, rejected this goal as damaging to black male enfranchisement.

Led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, many women moved toward the formation of an autonomous feminist movement. In 1868 Stanton and Anthony began publishing *Revolution*, a periodical that discussed "not only the ballot, but bread and babies," as Stanton herself advertised. In 1869 they and others founded the National Women's Suffrage Association, which may be considered the first national feminist organization in the U.S.

The motto of *Revolution*, "Principle, Not Policy—Justice, Not Favors—Men Their Rights and Nothing More—Women Their Rights and Nothing Less," declared feminist independence from old-line abolitionists and new-style Republicans.

DuBois skillfully reveals the interplay of gender, race and class. She explains how the early feminists attempted to connect their struggle to that of blacks, and how that attempt failed, due primarily

to the intervention of the Republican party. While stressing the importance of the national political situation in contributing to this failure, DuBois does not minimize the feminists' racism. She does, however, make their racism comprehensible as products of the suffragists' political desperation and their own privileged, white backgrounds.

DuBois also sensitively explores the relationship of the women's suffrage movement to working-class women. She documents Susan B. Anthony's betrayal of a women's typographical union in a way that illuminates the contradictions in the suffragist position. While claiming to speak for all women, suffragists viewed themselves as "protectors" of their working-class sisters and ultimately sided with employers against them.

They were caught between a certainty of what was right and a shortsighted political outlook removed from racial and class realities.

DuBois provides us with a politically astute description of the origins of the feminist movement. The description is often dry and academic. The book is largely a chronological recitation of events. It is not light or entertaining reading. But its goal, to describe and analyze events with a minimum of embellishment or color, has been successfully accomplished. DuBois' contribution to understanding the roots of the contemporary feminist movement is significant and will be lasting.

Ilene Philipson is a graduate student in sociology at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

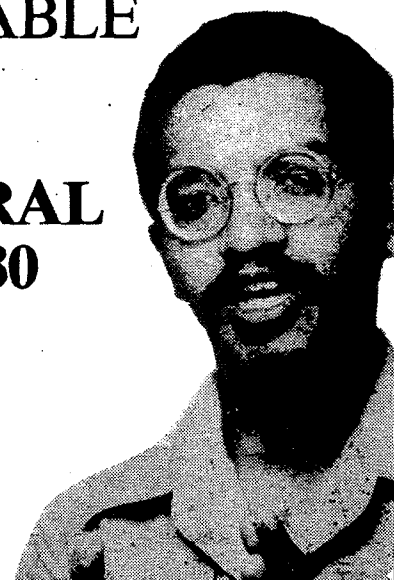
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LIFE IN THE U.S.

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

Einstein's universe becomes ours too

EINSTEIN'S UNIVERSE
by Nigel Calder
New York, Viking Press, \$10

By Bob Vovovich

IMAGINE OUR SOCIETY STRIPPED of Einstein's contributions to psychology, Marx's contributions to history and economics, devoid of Darwin's contributions to perspective, or stripped of Aristotle's contribution to logic.

A difficult task, indeed. Ego, id and libido have become well-worn, comfortable ideas that slip into our most casual conversation and provide an important part of the framework we use to understand our motivations and desires. Marx is equally omnipresent, contributing ideas of class struggle that appear in the speeches and writings of even his most virulent opposition. Leonardo's perspective has become the way we see things, and Aristotle's syllogisms now seem the natural way for us to reason and to communicate our reasoning.

More recently, the ideas of Einstein dealing with the relationships among space, time, mass and energy began to be incorporated into our view of ourselves and the universe around us. The 100th anniversary of Einstein's birth is upon us. Calder's *Einstein's Universe* (N.Y.: Viking Press, \$10) is among the spate of books determined to help us assimilate the still strange-seeming ideas.

Calder begins his exposition with the most universally accepted of Einstein's ideas: that matter and energy are inter-

convertible, with matter viewed as a kind of "frozen, concentrated energy."

Building upon this foundation, Calder introduces the modern concept of gravity and proceeds to examine the way in which it affects matter-energy, a program that leads to the conclusion that gravity will bend the path followed by a ray of light. Using simplified (and sometimes oversimplified) descriptions of black holes, lasers, quasars and various other astronomical exotica, Calder slowly tours Einstein's universe, ultimately coming to the basic idea that space is "what light moves in" and time is "how long light takes to move." Meandering from the most accepted of Einstein's ideas to those least assimilated by the general public, Calder communicates some of the simplicity and elegance of Einstein's conception and shows how even the most difficult of his ideas arise from his basic principles.

The leisurely approach gives Calder the opportunity to show that the reader's pre-conceived "simpler" ideas of space and time cause knottier problems and more troublesome paradoxes than does relativity. In discussion of the speed-of-light limit to velocity, for example, Calder shows that, were travel faster than light possible, it would create conceptual problems that would make relativity seem like child's play.

Calder does pay a price for his slow-paced and simple approach. For the reader with the least familiarity with relativity, the early part of the book will probably seem sugar-coated and oversimplified. Even many novice readers may find it hard to wait until the latter part of the book to sink their teeth into



Einstein and Niels Bohr (above) disagreed fundamentally but admired each other; (behind) a ball on a rubber surface represents the sun in curved space.

the meat of Einstein's ideas.

Perhaps an even more serious flaw is the oversimplification and overstatement that slips into the book. Often—as when Calder claims that the trickle of natural radioactivity into the rocks of the Earth causes earthquakes and volcanos—the point is included only to be sensational and is not really even related to the main stream of the book. Not only are such flaws distracting, but they also tend to cast suspicion upon Calder's arguments in other parts of the book.

Also disappointing is the fact that Calder does not explore the more long-range effects of the ideas of relativity. Calder does discuss the cosmological implications of relativity, including the theory's impact on the question of the formation of the universe. But, just as Copernicus' shift from a geocentered universe set up tremors in everything from navigation to religion, so undoubtedly will Einstein's shift away from absolute time and space seep into the way in which we perceive ourselves and our world.

Saying that the earth went around the sun may not have made much difference in the day-to-day lives of Copernicus' fellow citizens, but the idea dramatically altered man's basic ideas of himself and his place in the universe and helped set in motion incredibly far-reaching social, cultural and political changes.

How, for example, are Einstein's explorations into the limits of what we can measure and into the limits of how objective we can be in our observations of time, space, energy and matter trickling into our everyday lives? How will relativity's estranged cousin—quantum mechanics—and the idea that, fundamentally, all measurement involves interaction between the measurer and the measured alter our perceptions of our social and political institutions?

Though not as spectacular as an H-bomb, these effects are likely to be more important and are the questions that arise on the centenary of Einstein's birth as we try to fully appreciate his contribution to the world in which we live. ■

Gravity waves may prove general relativity theory

By Michael Goldhaber

WHEN ALBERT EINSTEIN died in 1955, he was loved and admired as a towering giant by physicists the world over. His special theory of relativity—which he published in 1905 when he was only 26—had revolutionized the theory of sub-atomic particles and led to a host of technological breakthroughs, from nylon to microelectronics and from nuclear energy to lasers. But his later theory of general relativity was given little more than lip service. There were no textbooks that covered it, and many major universities did not even offer a course on it. And his quest for a unified field theory, to which he devoted the last half of his life—was simply seen as wrong headed.

Now all that has changed. Microscopic physics is alive with a sense that a new unified field theory might be in the offing. Supergravity, the new quantum theory of gravity, is essentially consistent with general relativity. And in astrophysics and cosmology, the expansion of the universe and black holes are accepted as being implied by general relativity. There has even been a new drive to test experimentally one of the subtlest consequences of general relativity: gravity waves. There is already support of success.

Rather than slowly putting together a new theory by building on many observations and experimental results, Einstein built the 1916 theory of general relativity through "thought experiments" about

how the world *must* appear to a physicist.

Einstein had worked for seven years to develop a new theory of gravity, abandoning along the way commonsense notions like "the shortest distance between two points is a straight line." When applied to anything in the solar system, Einstein's theory yielded almost exactly the same predictions as Isaac Newton's "Law of Universal Gravitation," which had worked with amazing accuracy for over 200 years, and which is still perfectly adequate for the delicate navigation of interplanetary space probes.

Einstein's theory was clearly superior to Newton's in two respects: it accurately accounted for known tiny deviations from Newton's predictions of the motions of Mercury and Venus, and it purported to explain gravity.

Where Newton had said simply that any two objects in the universe attract each other with a force proportional to the mass of each, and inversely proportional to the square of the distance between them, Einstein said the presence of matter distorts space-time; gravity is nothing but the curvature that results. A planet traveling in an orbit around the sun is moving on the equivalent of a straight line in space-time curved by the presence of the sun. Even light—say, from a distant star—must travel on a curved path.

In 1919, Einstein's fame reached new heights when Arthur Eddington observed a star whose light had to pass very near the sun during a solar eclipse. Eddington confirmed, from the deviation in the star's apparent position, that the light's path was curved.

Since Einstein's death, with new and expensive instruments like radiotelescopes and satellites, backed with giant computers to analyze the data, general relativity has received further confirmation.

"Black holes" are one example. With denser matter, or larger regions of space, general relativity calls for totally new phenomena—a complete departure from Newton—and these conditions seem to correspond with new observations. "Black holes" are simply, under this theory, regions where stars of very high density have curved space-time around them so much that even light cannot get out.

Unfortunately, all the evidence so far for general relativity is extremely indirect, based on a complex chain of references. To make sure that current interpretations are not a house of cards, we need confirmation closer to home than the far-distant "black holes." That is where gravity waves come in.

Under Newton's law of gravity, if a distant object were suddenly to move, the gravitational force that issues from it anywhere else would change instantly. If that were true, you could send signals instantly to points thousands of light-years away.

But Einstein's 1905 "special" theory says that a signal cannot travel faster than light; a signal must take a thousand years to travel a thousand light-years. So, when an object is suddenly moved or accelerated, it must send out a signal, and the signal must have energy, in the form of a rapidly fluctuating field moving at the speed of light.

This is a gravity wave. It amounts to a

temporary change in the geometry of space. These waves can be detected, in principle, by observing tiny changes in the dimensions of an otherwise stable object.

About 15 years ago, Joseph Weber and colleagues at the University of Maryland thought they had detected gravity waves, but the consensus of physicists went against them. Now scientists world-wide are trying again. Meanwhile, radio astronomers from Australia and the U.S., led by Joseph Taylor of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, have new, though indirect, evidence that gravity waves exist.

Using the enormous radio telescope at Arecibo, Puerto Rico, they are monitoring pulses that they interpret as coming from one of two very compact, heavy stars orbiting around each other very rapidly. Orbital motion implies acceleration; so these two stars should be emitting gravity waves with an amount of energy that can be calculated from general relativity theory. Losing energy, the stars should be slowing down by one one-thousandth of a second per year. That is exactly what Taylor and coworkers observe. The indirect inferences favor general relativity again.

On the centenary of his birth, Einstein's quest for a unified field theory is finally receiving important confirmation. ■

Michael Goldhaber sometimes teaches physics at the University of California, Berkeley, and he also teaches at the East Bay Socialist School.

ART & ENTERTAINMENT

MUSIC

Cuba's most creative band goes north



Irakere members Paquito Rivera (far left) and Carlos Averhoff (far right) with Monica and Stan Getz at Carnegie Hall last summer; their current album displays only one side of their creativity.

Editor's note: Irakere recently appeared, with North American and other Cuban musicians, in one of three "Havana Jam" concerts in Cuba. Presently they are on national tour with Steven Stills.

By John Storm Roberts

For some years now the buzz has been on, in the places where New York's *salseros* hang out: "Wait till Cuba opens up." Rumors of Afro-Cuban drum ensembles teamed with synthesizers, of rock guitars among the charanga groups' flute and fiddles. More recently, as the curtain slowly began to lift, and people traveled back and forth, rumors gave way to a name: Irakere. Probably the hottest, and deepest, and most creative band on the Cuban scene today. Once Irakere's music hits the Big Mango, the returnees said, the salsa scene will be up for grabs. Now Irakere has arrived, with an eponymous album on the Columbia label—the first Cuban band recorded by a major U.S. company in 20 years.

So, you may ask, what?

So, potentially, plenty. Not only the U.S. Latin music that has come to be called salsa, but its major hybrid, Latin-jazz, and—through them—the rhythm-and-blues funk and disco styles that have been so revolutionized by the Latin tinge during the '70s stand to be affected.

Almost every decade since WWI has seen styles from Cuba, Mexico, Brazil or elsewhere sweep the U.S.: the turn-of-the-century habanera; the teens and '20s Argentinian tango; the '30s rumba; the '40s conga and samba; the '50s mambo and chachacha; the '60s bossa nova. These were not marginal fads, but mass movements. Out of 163 popular melodies given more than one million performances since 1940, 23—al-

most one in seven—were Latin in origin or inspiration, most of them Cuban. Only half as many jazz, blues and soul numbers combined, and around 19 country songs, have made the same list.

For almost a century, in fact, "Latin" music has been a fundamental part of every aspect of U.S. popular music history. And without minimizing the significance of Brazil and Mexico, the most important influence by far has been Cuban.

The habanera, the rumba, the conga, the mambo and chachacha; creative leaders from Don Azpiazu, who introduced that first huge runaway Cuban hit, "The Peanut Vendor," through Machito and his musical director Mario Bauza, who together pioneered the blending of jazz and Cuban music in the fullest richness of each. All Cuban.

Why Cuba, out of all the Afro-European lands of the Caribbean, Central and southern America, is open to argument. A dozen other countries drew from Spain and Africa to develop an entire range of styles from folk to conservatory, based on each root separately, and every possible mixture of the two. Yet in Cuba, this Afro-Spanish mix produced something special.

Most younger Americans know Cuban music through the hot New York salsa style. This took in other Latin influences—Puerto Rican, Dominican, even Brazilian, and it developed a brash sound than the Cuban mix of fire and grace.

But for all the differences, New York salsa is still Cuban at the core. Cuban in its basic structure: the "head," or tune; the "montuno," when the *coro* sings its two-or-four-bar riffs under a lead singer's improvisations or an instrumental solo; and the "mambo" section, a series of interlocking riffs that often bear a jazz-

tinged solo above them. Cuban also in most of its standard repertory and almost all of its popular rhythms: not only the mambos and chachachas of the '50s, but the common rhythms of modern New York salsa: the implacable *son montuno*, the nostalgic country-based *guajiro*, the up-tempo *guaracha*, and the medium-paced *guaguanco*.

Irakere's music is in total contrast to U.S. salsa's established forms. Almost everything, it seems, has been thrown overboard. Not just the obvious fundamental of a given rhythm, or pattern of rhythms, holding the structure together, but the structure itself—the classic two-and-three-part forms that have given Cuban music such balance.

In its place is a seeming magpie's museum of percussion passages, jazz solos, riffs and flourishes. Even the division between dance music and concert music has gone under to Irakere's changing tempi and long complex *cierre* breaks.

Yet true artistic revolutions are rarely a rejection of the past; they are a rejection of worn-out ways of relating to it. Tradition lives by renewal, and what at first may appear a threat often turns out to be a rescue operation. The blues was saved, not sabotaged, by the electric guitar, and the iconoclasts of bop gave jazz a further 30 years of meaning.

Though Irakere in no sense play it the way it used to be played their references to tradition are as constant as their exploration of the how-it-is of jazz.

The constant three-ways-at-once references are at their most powerful in *Missa Negra*, 17-minute suite that combines the percussion-as-color of free jazz *a la* Return to Forever with the Afro-Cuban roots, re-interpreted. Averhoff's fine alto solo, as fluent as it is experimental, is heavy enough

jazz for anybody; but Valdez, on acoustic piano, takes matters further in a long series of improvisations and cadenzas that stake out his claim to the territory also inhabited by McCoy Tyner and Keith Jarrett, where "jazz," "popular" and "conservatory" are labels whose ink has faded. Then Cuba returns in more creative iconoclasm—three of the big Nigerian rattles called *chekere*, with wawa guitar behind, and busy jazz rock drumming that meshes perfectly with both.

And so it goes, every number a new mix of cherished roots and joyous originality. Listen to "Il-

ya," based on a Yoruba theme, with fast swirling baritone and dogmatic rock bass-playing, ensemble passages vaguely reminiscent of the old Tadd Dameron band, flaring guitar and trumpet solos, an Afro-Cuban voice-and-percussion jam pegged by bass and synthesizer stopnotes, a free-for-all between trumpet and ensemble, and an improvised vocal in the classic Cuban *sonero's* style.

Unfortunately, their first U.S. release doesn't show adequately that while depth is one of Cuban music's glories, the other is *joie-de-vivre*. The gaiety of Irakere's first big Cuban hit, "Bacalao con Pan," with its delicious street-conjunto conga passage for drums and trumpets, and the gaiety of "El Coco," with its straightened quality and Caribbean trombone, are missing from this album. So is one of their masterpieces—"La Verdad," which blends a full-tilt traps-conga dialog before classic Cuban brass inspiraciones, a *chekere* prominent in percussion, dancing congas and heavy ethnic percussion under rock guitar, and hilarious trumpet riffs culled from everywhere—Cuba, jazz, even Mexican mariachi. All these pieces were recorded by Columbia. Their absence from the final issue isn't compensated by the harmless but overlong and self-indulgent "Adagio"—one of a long line of feeble jazz attempts to be funny about classical music—or the rather self-consciously "out" "Aguanile."

Despite evidence of almost a hundred years of U.S. pop music history, the Latin basis of disco and the heavy Latinization of current fusion-jazz, the big companies are still scared of anything too "ethnic": Latin, the self-fulfilling prophecy runs, doesn't sell. It's ironic that that theory has affected even Irakere. The result is magnificent but one-sided. ■

CULTURE SHOCK

SO IT'S NOT JUST YOUR IMAGINATION

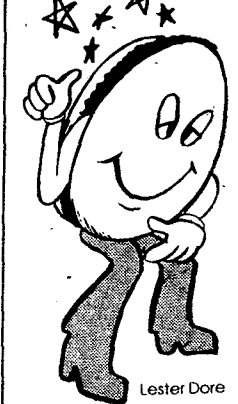
The latest *Journal of Communications* reports results of a study measuring sex on network TV from 1975-77. Instances of physical suggestiveness went up four-fold, seductive behavior increased threefold, and sexual innuendo went up seven-fold.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

The textile factory that kept the Karl Marx family eating has been sold by the Engels family to a real estate firm that intends to demolish it next year. The factory has been in poor financial condition for years.

CONTAGIOUS

Kuala Lumpur now has 15 discos.



MASS PRODUCED UNIQUENESS

Disco franchises are budding in shopping malls cross-country. Franchises emphasize, however, the uniqueness of each club; they fear being labelled "Burger Kings of Disco."

NOW THAT'S EQUALITY

Psychology discovered that female business school grad students were no more likely to act ethically in a hypothetical business decision than their male counterparts.

AND WHAT'S A ROSE THESE DAYS?

Nuclear energy execs find arguing for nuclear power so difficult that they're going after a new strategy: arguing against anti-nuclear groups. A utility exec from New Hampshire wrote in *Public Relations Journal*, "We need to go on the offensive...it's time to call a spade a dirty rusty shovel."

FICTION

Sontag Etc.



These stories can communicate a desperate, noble vitality. But in trying to bring order to the chaos of our lives, Sontag sometimes tunes out too many of the emotional voices we need to hear.

I, ETCETERA
by Susan Sontag
Farrar, Straus, Giroux, New
York, 1978, 245 pp., \$3.95

By Richard Kazis

On the back of the jacket cover to her new book of short stories is a photograph of author, critic and filmmaker Susan Sontag (see photo, above.) This photographic image, like all of Sontag's verbal and visual images, is carefully calculated. It reflects both the style and the mood of the stories we are about to read. These are stories that emerge from an urban, New York sensibility, and that, like the jacket photograph, are controlled and well-considered artistic creations. They are bare, stark, intense stories -- monologues on identity and knowledge -- on intellect and will.

At least half the stories involve new, duplicated or blurred identities. In one, a man escapes his intolerable life by building a replacement dummy in his own image. In another, entitled "Doctor Jekyll," three men are united in an odd, triangular battle of wills and identities.

A common thread is the "I" of the collection's title; but it is not the thundering "I" of the kind of character in American fiction who can declare simply, "Call me Ishmael." It is a more confused and unsure affirmation by modern characters who more readily lament, as in the story "Project for a Trip to China": "What a difficult bridge this present has become. How many, many trips we have to undertake so as not to be empty and invisible."

These are not, however, merely stories of personal identity crises. The book's title acknowledges

this. There exists more than the "I." There is also the "Etcetera," that broader reality in relation to which the "I" stands. In the 1970s, that reality is complex and frustrating—and it makes both understanding and action difficult.

In "Debriefing," perhaps the most packed and powerful of these short stories, Sontag writes: "We know more than we can use. Look at all this stuff I've got in my head: rockets and Venetian churches, David Bowie and Diderot, nuoc mam and Big Macs, sunglasses and orgasms." At the same time, she adds, "We don't know nearly enough." We do not know how to wade through it all: we have too much knowledge and too little wisdom.

The narrator in the story "Un-guided Tour" complains, "If I go this fast, I won't see anything. If I slow down...then I won't have seen everything before it disappears." Conscious of the existence of so many places and things, the narrator can only be frustrated by the limits of knowledge. And the recognition of limits overwhelms the ability to act.

In order to cope, the narrator, like others in these stories, makes lists and collects information almost randomly, hoping that answers will emerge in the process and that order can be maintained. But the effort is misguided. In her insightful essays *On Photography*, Sontag wrote that while Marx reproached philosophy for only trying to understand the world rather than change it, photographers "suggest the vanity of even trying to understand the world and instead propose that we collect it." Out of desperation, we give up both action and understanding, the will and the intellect, and set-

tle for collecting and observing.

Susan Sontag's stories explore the questions, the fears and the paralysis of our self-conscious times. And she does so in a way that demands a moral stance as the first step toward turning collected lists and unconnected facts into critical understanding and human activity. "Everyone's in some kind of moral drag," says the narrator in "Debriefing." Overloaded and scared, "people are trying not to mind, not to mind too much. Not to be afraid." But when her friend Julia is in trouble, the narrator tries to perform her "old rites of counterexorcism—reason! self-preservation! pessimism of the intellect, optimism of the will!" It is through will and determination that she survives and even lives.

Some of these stories have more immediate impact than others. Several like "American Spirits," exhibit a calculated and ordered sparseness that can make a photograph striking but a story flat and static. Sontag, like her characters, is trying to put order on the chaos of our lives and minds. In doing so, she sometimes tunes out too many of the chaotic and emotional voices that the reader needs to hear.

But when the reader is made to feel the "city as a conglomerate of bleeding energies," as we indeed do in "Debriefing," "Doctor Jekyll," and several other stories, when Sontag makes that desperate, noble vitality felt, few writers can match her ability to communicate the dilemmas and fears that make moral action so difficult and critical understanding so temporary.

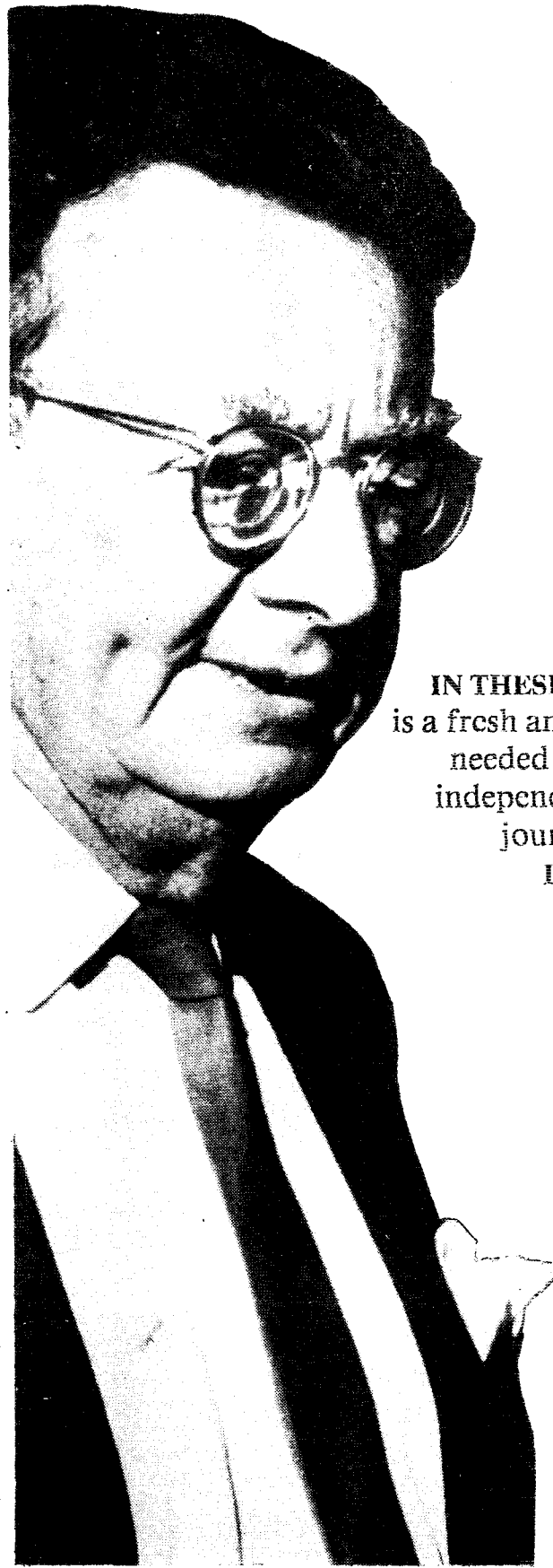
Richard Kazis is co-director of the Institute for Local Self-Reliance and a member of the Magic Lantern Cinema Collective.

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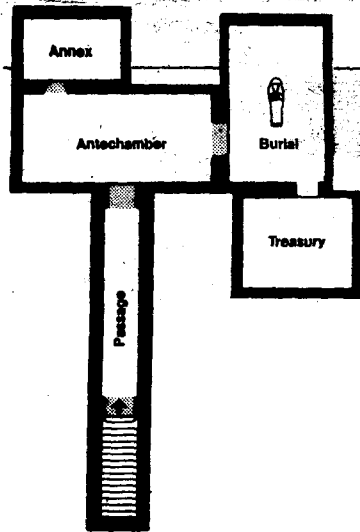
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ART AND MUSEUMS

'Tut' rekindles Egyptomania with high-profit exhibition

Plan of the tomb.

By Alan Wallach

In 1922, Howard Carter, a British archaeologist working for Lord Carnarvon, located the site of Tutankhamun's grave and, with the help of a small army of Egyptian laborers, opened the tomb and removed the hundreds of artifacts that had been put there for the king's afterlife.

Carter's find proved an instant sensation. No other pharaoh's tomb had been discovered in modern times with its contents intact. The objects from the tomb helped spark the Egyptian craze of the 1920s. And with *Treasures of Tutankhamun*—an exhibition of 54 works from Cairo that arrived in December at New York's Metropolitan Museum after a cross-country tour—Carter's discovery has again inspired an outbreak of Egyptomania.

This time, however, the enthusiasm for ancient Egypt is combined with nostalgia for the days when Western archaeology had free rein almost everywhere in the world. *Treasures of Tutankhamun* evokes one of its greatest triumphs. While the pharaoh's gold burial mask supplied the exhibition with a symbol, its presiding deity was not the ancient Egyptian king but Western archaeology in the person of Howard Carter.

Since its first appearance at the time of the French Revolution,

the public art museum has served as storehouse for the spoils of war and imperialist domination. For example, in the early 1800s Lord Elgin carried off the Parthenon sculptures that, as the "Elgin Marbles," found their way into the British Museum (where they remain despite years of Greek protest); at about the same time Napoleon was ransacking Europe for art works to exhibit in the Louvre. Imperialist nations, often in the name of science or civilization, habitually looted (and continue to loot) others' cultural heritage: thus the enormous theft of Chinese art for U.S. museums during the 1930s. For the archaeologists of the 19th and early 20th centuries, Egypt furnished a particularly rich lode.

Because of the enormous amount of archaeological material and its accessibility in muse-

public, Egyptian art appears at once familiar and enigmatic—a not particularly disturbing mystery. The lure of a Tutankhamun exhibition was thus in some ways predictable.

The advertising campaign for the exhibition underscored the uniqueness of the event and relentlessly hammered away at the idea of fabulous treasure: King Tut's burial mask, again and again reproduced in blazing golden hues, became an emblem of measureless wealth. Even the *New York Times'* chief art critic—a man not noted for unrestrained enthusiasms—felt obliged to confess that "the gold really is quite breathtaking."

The exhibition's immediate emphasis was on treasure, with the dramatically illuminated works exhibited like sacred relics to the enormous crowds. The very little



Inside the exhibition.

ums, Egyptian art has a prominent place in Western art history. American art historians have usually treated Egypt as an exotic forerunner of Graeco-Roman civilization. (In his widely-read textbook, H.W. Janson describes Middle Eastern works of art as "fascinating strangers" by comparison with the art of ancient Greece.) To the museum-going

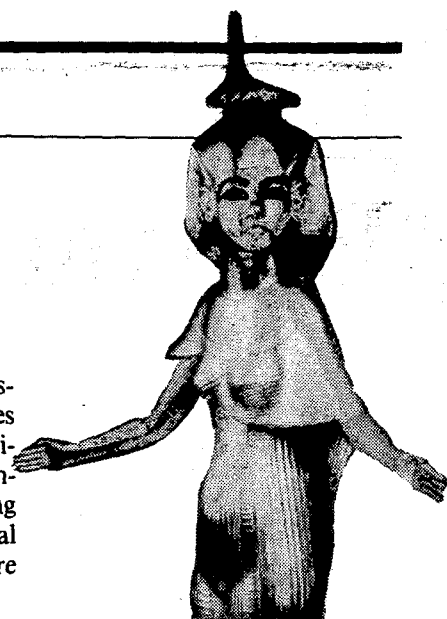
information that was provided inside the exhibition dwelt on burial rituals, religious beliefs and religious symbolism, confirming traditional stereotypes of a "mysterious" ancient Egypt. The exhibition's organizers all but overlooked Egyptian history. Only a brief note in the exhibition brochure hinted that Tutankhamun's appearance on the historical stage

marked the priesthood's suppression of the revolutionary changes attempted by Akehnaten (possibly Tutankhamun's father). Otherwise the visitor learned nothing about the historical and social contexts in which the works were made.

Visitor as explorer.

But the history of Tutankhamun was not the main focus. Down to the smallest detail of its organization, *Treasures of Tutankhamun* celebrated the process of archaeological appropriation. This was immediately evident from the exhibition's layout. After walking past enormous photographs of Carter, Carnarvon and the Valley of the Kings, the visitor entered the exhibition proper through a doorway cut in a huge photograph of the tomb's entrance. This led to the first of four rooms containing objects from the antechamber of the tomb and huge photographs of the original antechamber and its objects. The last of these rooms brought the visitor to an enormous balcony overlooking the museum's newly-installed temple of Dendur (a gift from the Egyptian government). Following the sequence of Carter's excavations, the balcony divided into four connected spaces—antechamber, burial chamber, treasury, annex—and each of these spaces contained objects from the corresponding spaces in the tomb.

Thus by walking through the exhibition, the visitor symbolically reenacted Carter's discovery of the tomb and its contents. In effect, the exhibition made an equation between the visitor and Carter. Quotations from Carter's account of his find, strategically placed at the entrance to each ex-



Statuette of Goddess Selket.

hibition-tomb space, reinforced the equation as did the 16-page brochure handed each visitor. Using diagrams and photographs, and paraphrasing Carter's narrative, the brochure described the discovery of the tomb and chamber by chamber, its subsequent excavation.

Treasures of Tutankhamun may have been vicarious archaeology but for many it prompted a very real urge to possess. (One critic wrote of an impulse to touch the objects and "plunder the exhibition.") Appropriately, visitors exited into an enormous sales area that looked like an informal continuation of the exhibition space with the more expensive reproductions displayed in lucite cases.

Treasures of Tutankhamun set forth a deeply conservative view of archaeology and its prerogatives. No doubt the exhibition's huge impact gratified its government and corporate sponsors (Exxon and R.W. Johnson). For the Metropolitan Museum, which oversaw the national tour and made millions selling "authorized" reproductions and catalogues, the exhibition's extraordinary success taught an obvious lesson in aggressively mass-marketing cultural events. For museums, it set a standard of profitability against which future exhibitions inevitably will be judged.

Alan Wallach is an art historian and critic living in New York.

CLASSIFIED

PUBLICATIONS

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ROCK MUSIC BUSINESS

Boomtown Rats: talent's not enough

By Bruce Dancis

Ever wonder why that new group you just love, the one with "can't miss" written all over them, flops? While I wouldn't be so vulgar as to suggest that the way an act is promoted is the most important factor in determining its success, there is little doubt that publicity campaigns, packaging, and marketing decisions can play crucial roles.

Some rock bands become immensely popular without elaborate initial backing from their record companies. *Boston* comes immediately to mind, as does *Dire Straits* (see *IT*, Dec. 13, 1978), on a smaller and more artistic level. Yet a lot of bands with significant commercial potential, not to mention talent, need the careful and intense efforts of a record company's publicity and marketing departments in order to find their audience. One such band is the Boomtown Rats, and an examination of their checkered, though brief, recording history may shed some light on the economics of the rock music industry.

The Rats, as they are popularly known, were formed in Dublin during the middle of 1976. Taking their name from a street gang mentioned in Woody Guthrie's autobiography, *Bound for Glory*, they rapidly became one of Ireland's most popular bands. Moving to England in search of a larger audience, within a short time they were signed by Basign Records (a small label distributed by the Phonogram Corporation) and released their debut album, *Boomtown Rats*.

The move to England came at a fortuitous time. The Rats' music, based on equal measures of R&B, hard rock, and the cynical, socially-aware, and intelligent lyrics of vocalist Bob Geldof, emerged on vinyl just in time to connect with Britain's burgeoning New Wave movement during the God Save the Queen summer of 1977. Two singles taken

from their first album made the British Top Ten, and their tours were continual sell-outs.

A Tonic for the Troops, the Rats' second album, was released in Britain early in 1978 and quickly became an even larger seller than their first. A single taken from the new album, "Rat Trap," had the distinction of bumping John Travolta off the Number One position in the British charts—an event celebrated by the Rats' placing an ad in the British rock press showing the slick Travolta caught in a rat trap (below)—and sold in the neighborhood of one million copies.

However, at the same time that the Rats were becoming one of Britain's biggest rock groups, they were doing miserably in the U.S. According to George Knemeyer of Mercury Records (the band's American label, a subsidiary of Phonogram), the first Boomtown Rats album sold "under 10,000 here in the States," sales generally considered to be in the disaster level for a major company.

Pinch-penny promo.

Band members, now signed with another American record company, feel bitter towards Mercury for its handling of their first album. In a conversation with *IN THESE TIMES*, keyboard player Johnnie Fingers and guitarist Garry Roberts discussed this.

Roberts charges that Mercury had few creative ideas. "They're OK with somebody like Rod Stewart, who somebody else has broken, who they don't have to do any work on," he says, "but they can't break acts, and that's what we needed."

Fingers is particularly angry about a publicity stunt he feels hurt the band. "Their idea of a promotional gimmick for our first album," he says, "was to mail out 25 or 30 dead rats in plastic bags to chosen dealers around the country." He also charged that Mercury did a terrible job distributing the album,



Boomtown Rats, with Fingers (in pajamas), Roberts and Geldof (on right).

Mercury's idea of good hype was to send out 25 or 30 dead rats in plastic bags to selected dealers.

noting that "our album sold more on import in New York City than they shipped to the whole New York State."

As could be expected, Mercury has a different view of the relationship. Knemeyer told *IN THESE TIMES* that "at the time, we were approaching them as a New Wave band, and we did ads in the *Trouser Press*, *New York Rocker*, and several other New Wave publications." When asked whether it was correct to call the Rats a punk band, he admitted that the tag wasn't accurate in their case, but pointed out that when "their first album was released, just about any new band out of Britain was being labelled 'punk rock.' Our ads tried to put out that they were much more than punk rock." In that case, why not place ads in broadly-based music publications like *Rolling Stone*? "At that stage," Knemeyer responded, "we had X amount of money to work with, and the gold or platinum groups got priority" (A "gold" album is one that sells over 500,000 units; a "platinum" album sells over one million.)

Knemeyer also cited the difficulty Mercury had in selling the Rats. "One of the problems," he explains, "was that radio used the equation that if it was New Wave it must be bad, and the album got little airplay." Still, Knemeyer said that Mercury spent "20 to 30 grand" on promotional tours. The Rats did not, however, perform in the U.S. while under contract with Mercury.

Both Roberts and Fingers feel that Mercury mislabeled them as a punk rock band. According to Finger, "The president of Mercury at the time we were with them was an accountant, and he didn't really know anything about music." Fingers summed up the Rats' attitude towards Mercury: "We obviously feel piqued that our first album has been wasted. It's done very well in Britain, but the market here is huge. We've actually wasted a year and a half or two years by being foolish enough to sign with Mercury." Roberts added, "That's why it was very important for us to sign with a big label. The distribution is so good."

Full tilt for *Tonic*.

The label he referred to was Columbia Records, part of CBS,

Inc., which recently released in America the Rats' second album, *A Tonic for the Troops*. (As part of their contract settlement with Mercury, the Rats gained the rights to their first album. They put two of its strongest tracks on the American version of *Tonic*.) One of the giants of the recording industry, Columbia had the distribution network capable of both putting albums in stores and getting them eye-catching display space. Compared with other record companies, their publicity department is both well prepared and persistent.

The promotional campaign Columbia devised for the Rats is a model of how a company gets its bands known. A month before releasing *Tonic*, Columbia brought Geldof and Fingers to the U.S. for a multi-city promotional tour. In San Francisco, for example, they met with writers, radio announcers, record store workers, and Columbia personnel over beer, wine, and sandwiches. Those assembled heard the forthcoming album, received "bios" about the band and carefully selected reprints of favorable reviews in the British press, watched a *Hard Day's Night*-inspired videotape of the Rats performing "Rat Trap," and got to talk informally with Geldof and Fingers.

About a month later the album was released in America and review copies were sent out. As a result of the earlier efforts, reviewers and radio programmers and DJs would already be familiar with the "product," or at the very least would be able to distinguish the Rats' album from the dozens of other new records they received that week.

Similarly, Columbia hoped that *Tonic* would receive prominent display in record stores and benefit from steady in-store play. (The rise, particularly in California, of record supermarkets with huge floor space has completely changed the way rock albums are sold. Consumers are now more likely to come to a store without necessarily planning to purchase a particular album. Consequently, how an album is displayed and the frequency with which it is played in the store have taken on much more significant roles in the sales of records.)

The Rats began a nationwide tour of the U.S. around a month

after *Tonic* came out. Columbia publicists set up press and radio interviews in every city in which the band appeared (including the ones cited in this article). They also provided complementary tickets to media and record store personnel. Full-page advertisements in publications like *Rolling Stone* were run in conjunction with the tour. Radio spots began popping up regularly on album-oriented FM stations. According to Columbia's Stewart, sales figures for the album are not yet available, but it appears that *Tonic* is getting strong airplay and receiving good critical notices.

Ultimately, a lot of other factors in addition to promotion will determine the commercial success of a rock band. Talent, fortunately is still often rewarded. Finding a striking pose or gimmick can make the difference, as can be seen from groups spanning the distance from neo-cartoon characters like Kiss or Boney M to the wild-man intellectualism of Warren Zevon. Foreigner, Boston, and Toto represent big bucks bands that have found instantly recognizable, risk-free hit writing formulas and will undoubtedly keep trotting them out until their fans lose interest.

But particularly for a new group, promotion often makes the difference between public and critical recognition and being lost among the hundreds of new acts that never escape obscurity. Leaving aside the worst excesses of record promotion—the shameless hyping of the mediocre, the irresponsible use of sexist imagery, and outright bribery—within the context of the modern rock industry it is difficult to argue with the Boomtown Rats' desire for commercial, as well as critical success. While we may strive to develop a system in which musical achievement and creativity can be separated from the constraints of the marketplace, it is important to recognize how far away that goal is and how little it offers in the abstract to a present-day rock band like the Boomtown Rats.

The Rats have understood (correctly, I think) that about the only way to reach the audience they believe they deserve is through aligning with one of the giant industry corporations. As guitarist Roberts put it, CBS knows "which side their bread is buttered on, in that if they get an act that they think can make some money for them they're going to go out and promote it as much as they can. And that's exactly what they're doing with us." ■



The Rats reviewed

By Bruce Dancis

A Tonic for the Troops displays the musical growth of the Boomtown Rats since they released their debut album in 1977. In particular, the new album is marked by a unique punctuation—a sort of jerky-jerky movement—that was not characteristic of their earlier, more derivative style. The Rats may still give the occasional impression that they're coping riffs from Bruce Springsteen or vocal intonations from Ray Davies of the Kinks, but their own distinctive sound is clearly emerging.

Bob Geldof has become one of the most creative lyricists around. Whether cynical ("Don't Believe What You Read"), sardonic ("I Never Loved Eva Braun"), joking and word-playing about various ways to commit suicide ("Living in an Island"), or offering a colorful look at his own neuroses

(“Like Clockwork”), Geldof approaches his subjects with a daring and pointed wit not often found in rock.

The subject of youthful angst may have been explored by pop writers from Smokey Robinson to Johnny Rotten, but Geldof's treatment of the theme on "Rat Trap" ranks with the best:

*It's only 8 o'clock but you're already bored
You don't know what it is but there's got to be more
You'd better find a way out, hey kick down the door
It's a rat trap and you've been caught*

I admit to being pretty caught myself, caught up in the precise, though relaxed, ensemble playing of the band and in Geldof's stylized vocals. I think that the Rats are simply too different, too avant garde, if you will, to be a commercial smash, at least in the current musical climate. But nobody ever went broke betting against my predictions.

THE RELATIVELY UNKNOWN EINSTEIN

On the centenary of his birth (March 14), Albert Einstein was recognized for many achievements, and lauded as a warm and gentle person. Few chose to point out that Einstein also supported socialism. Here are his reasons, first published in a longer version in May 1949, in the first issue of MONTHLY REVIEW.

Is it advisable for one who is not an expert on economic and social issues to express views on the subject of socialism? I believe for a number of reasons that it is.

Let us first consider the question from the point of view of scientific knowledge. It might appear that there are no essential methodological differences between astronomy and economics: scientists in both fields attempt to discover laws of general acceptability for a circumscribed group of phenomena in order to make the interconnection of these phenomena as clearly understandable as possible. But in reality such methodological differences do exist. The discover of general laws in the field of economics is made difficult by the circumstance that observed economic phenomena are often affected by many factors which are very hard to evaluate separately.

Second, socialism is directed towards a social-ethical end. Science, however, cannot create ends and, even less, instill them in human beings; science, at most, can supply the means by which to attain certain ends. But the ends themselves are conceived by personalities with lofty ethical ideals and—if these ends are not stillborn, but vital and vigorous—are adopted and carried forward by those many human beings who, half unconsciously, determine the slow evolution of society.

For these reasons, we should be on our guard not to overestimate science and scientific methods when it is a question of human problems; and we should not assume that experts are the only ones who have a right to express themselves on questions affecting the organization of society.

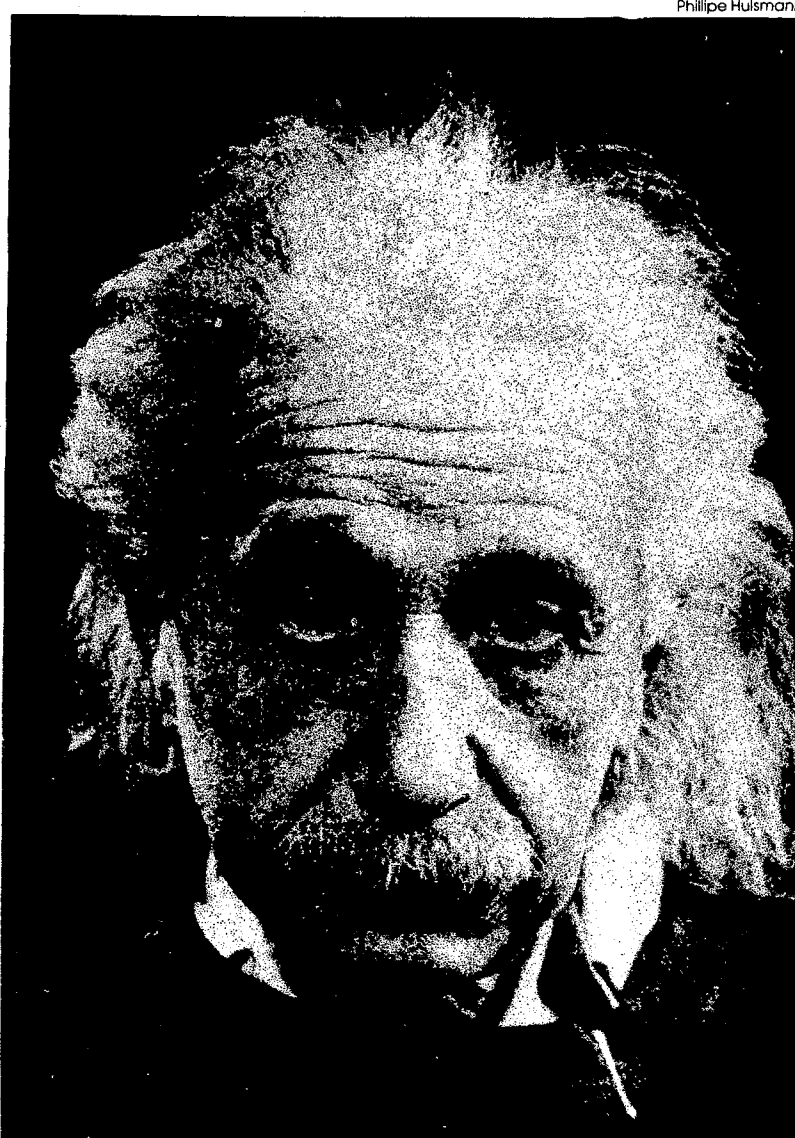
I recently discussed with an intelligent and well-disposed man the threat of another war, which in my opinion would seriously endanger the existence of mankind, and I remarked that only a supranational organization would offer protection from that danger. Thereupon my visitor, very calmly and coolly, said to me: "Why are you so deeply opposed to the disappearance of the human race?"

I am sure that as little as a century ago no one would have so lightly made a statement of this kind. It is the statement of a man who has striven in vain to attain an equilibrium within himself and has more or less lost hope of succeeding. It is the expression of a painful solitude and isolation from which so many people are suffering in these days. What is the cause? Is there a way out?

It is easy to raise such questions, but difficult to answer them with any degree of assurance. I must try, however, as best I can, although I am very conscious of the fact that our feelings and strivings are often contradictory and obscure and that they cannot be expressed in easy and simple formulas.

Man is, at one and the same time, a solitary being and a social being. As a solitary being, he attempts to protect his own existence and that of those who are closest to him, to satisfy his own personal desires, and to develop his innate abilities. As a social being, he seeks to gain the recognition and affection of his fellow human beings, to share in their pleasures, to comfort them in their sorrows, and to improve their conditions of life. Only the existence of these varied, frequently conflicting, strivings accounts for the special character of a man, and their specific combination determines the extent to which an individual can achieve an inner equilibrium and can contribute to the well-being of society. The abstract concept "society" means to the individual human being the sum total of his direct and indirect relations to his contemporaries and to all the people of earlier generations.

The dependence of the individual upon society is a fact of nature that cannot be abolished—just as in the case of ants and bees. However, while the whole life process of ants and bees is fixed down to the smallest detail by rigid, hereditary instincts, the social pattern and interrelationships of human



Philippe Halsmann

beings are very variable and susceptible to change. Memory, the capacity to make new combinations, the gift of oral communication have made possible developments among human beings that are not directed by biological necessities. This explains how it happens that, in a certain sense, man can influence his life though his own conduct, and that in this process conscious thinking and wanting can play a part.

Man acquires at birth, through heredity, a biological constitution that we must consider fixed and unalterable, including the natural urges which are characteristic of the human species. In addition, during his lifetime, he acquires a cultural constitution that he adopts from society through communication and through many other types of influences. Modern anthropology has taught us, through comparative investigation of so-called primitive cultures, that the social behavior of human beings may differ greatly, depending upon prevailing cultural patterns and the types of organization that predominate in society. It is on this that those who are striving to improve the lot of man may ground their hopes: human beings are *not* condemned, because of their biological constitution, to annihilate each other or to be at the mercy of a cruel, self-inflicted fate.

If we ask ourselves how the structure of society and the cultural attitude of man should be changed in order to make human life as satisfying as possible, we should constantly be conscious of the fact that there are certain conditions that we are unable to modify. As mentioned before, the biological nature of man is, for all practical purposes, not subject to change. Furthermore, technological and demographic developments of the last few centuries have created conditions that are here to stay. In relatively densely settled populations with the goods that are indispensable to their continued existence, an extreme division of labor and a highly-centralized productive apparatus are absolutely necessary. The time—which, looking back, seems so idyllic—is gone forever when individuals or relatively small groups could be completely self-sufficient. It is only a slight exaggeration to say that mankind constitutes even now a planetary community of production and consumption.

I have now reached the point where I may indicate briefly what to me constitutes the essence of the crisis of our time. It concerns the relationship of the individual to society. The individual has become more conscious than ever of his dependence upon society. But he does not experience this dependence as a positive asset, as an organic tie, as a

protective force, but rather as a threat to his natural rights, or even to his economic existence. Moreover, his position in society is such that the egotistical drives of his make-up are constantly being accentuated, while his social drives, which are by nature weaker, progressively deteriorate.

The economic anarchy of capitalist society as it exists today is, in my opinion, the real source of the evil. We see before us a huge community of producers the members of which are unceasingly striving to deprive each other of the fruits of their collective labor—not by force, but on the whole in faithful compliance with legally established rules. In this respect, it is important to realize that the means of production—that is to say, the entire productive capacity that is needed for producing consumer goods as well as additional capital goods—may legally be, and for the most part is, the private property of individuals.

Private capital tends to become concentrated in few hands, partly because of competition among the capitalists, and partly because technological development and the increasing division of labor encourage the formation of larger units of production at the expense of the smaller ones. The result of these developments is an oligarchy of private capital the enormous power of which cannot be effectively checked even by a democratically organized political society. This is true since the members of legislative bodies are selected by political parties, largely financed or otherwise influenced by private capitalists who, for all practical purposes, separate the electorate from the legislature.

Moreover, under existing conditions, private capitalists inevitably control, directly or indirectly, the main sources of information (press, radio, education). It is thus extremely difficult, and indeed in most cases quite impossible, for the individual citizen to come to objective conclusions and to make intelligent use of his political rights.

Production is carried on for profit, ~~not for use~~. There is no provision that all those able and willing to work will always be in a position to find employment; an "army of unemployed" almost always exists. Since unemployed and poorly paid workers do not provide a profitable market, the production of consumers' goods is restricted, and great hardship is the consequence. Technological progress frequently results in more unemployment rather than in an easing of the burden of work for all. Unlimited competition leads to a huge waste of labor, and to that crippling of the social consciousness of individuals which I mentioned before.

This crippling of individuals I consider the worst evil of capitalism. Our whole educational system suffers from this evil. An exaggerated competitive attitude is inculcated into the student, who is trained to worship acquisitive success as a preparation for his future career.

I am convinced there is only *one* way to eliminate these grave evils, namely through the establishment of a socialist economy, accompanied by an educational system that would be oriented toward social goals. In such an economy, the means of production are owned by society itself and are utilized in a planned fashion. A planned economy, which adjusts production to the needs of the community, would distribute the work to be done among all those able to work and would guarantee a livelihood to every man, woman and child. The education of the individual, in addition to promoting his own innate abilities, would attempt to develop in him a sense of responsibility for his fellow men in place of the glorification of power and success in our present society.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to remember that a planned economy is not yet socialism. A planned economy as such may be accompanied by the complete enslavement of the individual. The achievement of socialism requires the solution of some extremely difficult socio-political problems: how is it possible, in view of the far-reaching centralization of political and economic power, to prevent bureaucracy from becoming all-powerful and overweening? How can the rights of the individual be protected and therewith a democratic counterweight to the power of bureaucracy be assured? ■